The Weekly Louisianian.

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THE ADVOCATE OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

VOLUME 8. NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1879. NUMBER 22.

of Louisiana, read the report of the Committee on Migration, which had been eargerly awaited by the conference. The report, which is quite lengthy, makes no positive recommendation with regard to migration. Part first reviews "the causes that have given rise to the migration movement," the chief of which is stated to be "a determination and irrepressible desire on the part of the colored people of the South to go anywhere where they can escape the cruel treatment and continued threats of the dominant race in the South; and where, at the same time, they can remain full citizens of the United States, enjoying in other lands within their country those rights properly belonging to American citizens, of which they are in nearly every instance, denied at their homes, * * * * * * * Another cause is that the negro is not able to become the possesor of lands on any kind of terms by which he may ever hope to obtain a title in fee simple; he is forced to pay more as an annual rental for lands in the South than the lands are really worth, and much more than it would require to purchase the most fertile and productive lands in the West."

A large portion of the report is devoted to denying that the exodus is a political scheme gotten up to array the North against the South.

In regard to "the remedies to be pursued to stop the movement," and in answer to the question, "would the colored people accept concessions, if made to them, and, if so, what nature?" the committee say:

Reluctantly the colored man turns from his home in the South and proposes to brave the perils and disadvantages of a climate foreign to his nature and his choice. His forced going can be remedied. There are many Southern white men of advanced ideas who, with the very best interests of the Southern States and their prosperity at heart, recognize the fact that it will never do to drive from the Southern soil the bona fide natural producer of that soil. * * *

The most potent remedy lies within the grasp of the white people of the South themselves.

"In this direction a great responsibility rests upon them—a great chance is offered them.

"Let them make a new page in their history, ignored in the past but to be honestly and faithfully acknowledged and performed for all in ture, and, in that page let them write the immortal language of the Magna Charta, 'We will not deny to any man right or justice,' and then let the white people of the South practice it.

"Strike down the partisan feelings and prejudices which would, if persevered in, eventually paralize and hinder the prosperity of the South, and drive thousands of her citizens from their homes to other lands more generous, kind and just Let them surrender all mercenary hereditary prejudices upon the altar of right and justice, place themselves squarely upon the platform of equal civil and political rights to all men—free speech and freedom of thought and action, and this course, and such a course only, may stop this flight to other lands where, amid strangers and in incongenial climes, they prefer to live as free men indeed rather than longer endure the shadow of freedom completely overshadowed by injustice, wrong and oppression. * * * In fact, the remedy lies with each Southern community—in each State—and said community has got to work out its own salvation, individual and social. Can or will this be done! The future alone can properly answer this question."

As to the inquiry, "Can the colored people pursue the wisest course by migrating?" the report says:

"The colored people who are leaving the South for other lands are but following in the footsteps of their illustrious predecessors, and, whether they are pursuing the wisest course by migration, they are certainly pursuing their most natural one, and in addition thereto, their intended and partly executed determination to go out from among the people of the Southern States may lead to sober thought in the white classes of the South, and prompt them to apply a remedy to a class of evils which, if not corrected, will necessarily deprive these communities of the best working materia in the country —a class of workers whose hopeful, vigorous endeavors would enrich any land or community if retained; would ruin both abstracted from it."

The committee say in conclusion:

"In conclusion your committee present to this conference this report, and leave it with the members to decide whether or not the colored people of the South have have not about reached that point in their existence whether to continue as they now are, with all the disadvantages surrounding them, with the experience of the past, the doubt and uncertainty of the future, or whether there shall be a going out of these oppressed people to those lands and among those people who will guarantee to the colored as well as the white to right the wrongs of all men regard less of race or color, and vindicate your right to citizenship as freely as in any spot on God's green earth. This conference must speak in no unmistakable manner, on one side or the other.

Our friends, our constituents, our enemies, and the whole country besides, are waiting to hear the verdict from this conference."

A debate of three hours on the report followed. Twenty-three speeches endorsing it were made, and at 12:15 a. m. the report was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions of thanks to the Chairman, Secretaries, Governor of Tennessee, the American, and the citizens of Nashville were adopted. One of the American's reporters was specially mentioned in the resolution, but he, modestly taking advantage of the most frequent action action of the convention, rises to a question of privilege, and omits his name.

The Chairman, in a few words of good advice to his brother delegates, then pronounced the conference adjourned sine die.

The assemblage dispersed singing "John Brown's Body Lies Mouldering in the Grave."

MAIL LETTINGS.

NOTICE TO CONTRACTORS.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D. C., May 10, 1879.

Proposals will be received at the Contract Office of this Department until 3 P. M. of July 10, 1879, for carrying the mails of the United States, upon the routes, and according to the schedule of arrival and departure specified by the Department, in the State of Louisiana, from October 1, 1879, to June 30, 1882. Lists of routes, with schedules of arrivals and departures, instructions to bidders, with forms for contracts and bonds and all other necessary information will be furnished upon application to the Second Assistant Postmaster General.

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ADDRESS

of the Colored National Conference

To the People of the United States.

Three years ago last month there assembled in this city what at the time was generally believed would be the last national gathering of colored men to consider their relations to and interests in this country as a distinct element.

The rapidity with which the race had passed from the lowest status to a common level before the law with the most favored in the land, warranted the belief that the day of our complete deliverance from all forms of prejudice, oppression, wrong and outrage was near at hand, and with its glorious dawn we would merge into the common brotherhood of the nation, forming a part of a homogeneous, contented and happy people. But that fond delusion has been dispelled. We find ourselves compelled by circumstances of the gravest nature to meet again to consider the educational, moral, material and political interests of our people, and to state our grievances to the country.

It has been said, by one of the distinguished men of this country, one who has contributed as much towards shaping the ideas and sentiments of the American people as any other man living or dead, "that agitation is the method that plants the school by the side of the ballot-box. Agitation prevents rebellion, keeps the peace and secures progress. Every step she gains is gained forever. Agitation is the atmosphere of brains." If in the past agitation has been the elementary power which has served to crystallize and mould public opinion into law—has really formed the basis of true government, in order to arouse public sentiment in behalf of our rights, we deem it expedient to resort to agitation as being the sure and proper method by which to reach the ears of the American people, and thereby obtain fully the sacred rights which we are by nature and the laws of the country of which we form a component part, entitled to.

Fifteen years have elapsed since our emancipation, and though we have made material advancement as citizens, yet we are forced to admit that obstacles have been constantly thrown in our way to obstruct and retard our progress. Our toil is still unrequited, hardly less under freedom than slavery, whereby we are sadly oppressed by poverty and ignorance, and consequently prevented from enjoying the blessings of liberty, while we are left to the shame and contempt of all mankind. This unfortunate state of affairs is because of the intolerant spirit exhibited on the part of the men who control the State governments of the South today. Free speech in many localities is not tolerated. The lawful exercise of the rights of citizenship is denied when majorities must be overcome. Proscription meets us on every hand. In the schoolroom; in the church, that sings praises to that God "who made of one blood all the nations of the earth;" in places of public amusement; in the jury-box and in the local affairs of government, we are practically denied the rights and privileges of freemen.

We cannot expect to rise to the dignity of true manhood under the system of labor and pay as practically carried out in some portions of the South to-day. Wages are low at best, but when paid in scrip having no purchasing power beyond the prescribed limits of the land owner, it must appear obviously plain that our condition must ever remain the same; but with a fair adjustment between capital and labor, we, as a race, by our own industry, would soon be placed beyond want, and in a self-sustaining condition.

Our people in the North, while free from the many outrages practiced on our brethren in the South, are not wholly exempt from unjust discriminations. Caste prejudices have sufficient sway to exclude them from the workshop, trades, and other avenues of remunerative business and advancement.

We realize that education is the potent lever by which we are to be elevated to the plane of useful citizenship. We have the disposition and natural ability to acquire and utilize knowledge when equal facilities are accorded, but we are denied the necessary advantages, owing to the defective common school system and non-enforcement of laws in most of the Southern States. We therefore favor and recommend a national educational system embracing advantages for all, the same to be sustained by the proceeds derived from the sale of the public lands.

Wholly unbiased by party considerations, we contemplate the lamentable political condition of our people, especially in the South, with grave and serious apprehensions for the future. Having been given the ballot for the protection of our rights, we find, through systematic intimidation, outrage, violence and murder, our votes have been suppressed, and the power thus given us has been made a weapon against us.

The migration of the colored people, now going on from several of the Southern States, has assumed such proportions as to demand the calm and deliberate consideration of every thoughtful citizen of the country. It is the result of no idle curiosity, or disposition to evade labor. It proceeds upon the assumption that there is a combination of well-planned and systematic purposes to still further abridge their rights and privileges and reduce them to a state of actual serfdom. It is declared in Holy Writ "that the ox that treadeth out the corn shall not be muzzled."

If their labor is valuable, it should be respected. If it be demonstrated that it cannot command respect in the South there is but one alternative, and that is to emigrate. But as the South possesses many advantages for them, they would prefer to remain there if they could peaceably enjoy the rights and privileges to which they are legally entitled and receive fair and equitable remuneration for their labor. The disposition to leave the communities in which they feel insecure, is an evidence of a healthy growth in manly independence, and should receive the commendation and support of all philanthropists. We, therefore, heartily endorse the National Emigration Aid Society recently organized at Washington, D. C., and bespeak for it a successful issue in its laudable undertaking.

We view with gratification the recent efforts of the planters of Mississippi and Louisiana, at the Vicksburg convention, to effect an adjustment of the labor troubles existing in that section of the country. Believing that through such movements it is possible to establish friendly relations, adjust all differences between the races, and secure a final and satisfactory settlement of the grave causes underlying the unsettled and inharmonious condition of affairs now obtaining among them at the South, we would respectfully recommend to both classes the adoption of similar action in the future for the settlement of all disturbing public questions which may arise between them.

Having said so much with regard to the disabilities under which we labor on account of influences over which we have no control, we are not unmindful of the all-important fact that we are to a great extent the architects of our own fortunes, and must rely mainly on our own exertions for success. We, therefore, recommend to the youth of our race, observance of strict morality, temperate habits and the practice of economy, the acquisition of land, the acquiring agricultural education, of advancing to mercantile positions and forcing their way into the various productive channels of literature, art, science and mechanism. The sooner a knowledge of our ability to achieve success in these directions is acquired, the sooner we will overcome the apparently insurmountable obstacles to our elevation.

In the struggle for independence our blood mingled with that of the white man in defense of a common cause. When our flag was insulted on the high seas and naturalized citizens outraged, we sprang promptly to our country's call in the war which followed. We did not stop to consider the fact that, although Americans, we were not citizens; although soldiers, we were not free men. In the war of the rebellion, after emancipation, we responded by thousands to the country's defense, and on the high seas, intented camps and rifled parapets, the prejudice of race and caste were forgotten in the heat of conflict, and the cause of secession disappeared beneath the bodies of white and black alike. In the light of these facts we demand, in the name of the citizenship conferred by the organic law of the land; in the name of humanity and Christian brotherhood, the same treatment accorded the other nationalities of our common country—nothing more, nothing less. If the government has the right to make us citizens, surely it has the power to enforce the laws made for our protection. We have reached a crisis in the history of the race. With us it is a question of citizenship upheld by the moral sentiment of the country and protected by its physical power, or of citizenship in name, invaded, outraged and winked at whenever party necessities and exigencies require the stifling of the will of a majority in the interest of party ascendency—more than that, it is a question of life and existence itself. We have submitted patiently to the wrongs and injustice which have been heaped upon us, trusting that in the fullness of time a generous and humane public sentiment would bring to our relief the enforcement of all laws passed for our protection. If the nation desires to maintain the proud position it has attained, it must say and prove to the world that every man in our midst is free and equal, and that the same means will be used to protect its colored citizens in the right of citizenship as have been used to avenge the insults and outrages against the country's flag; and for the accomplishment of these ends, we invoke the prayers and sympathies of all liberty-loving citizens.

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WASHINGTON.

Diogenes Lamp in the Hands of Vindex.

THE COLORED OPERA.

He Drilled so much that They Called Him Captain.

Contributions for the Emigrants.

Pinafore has been all the go here for months, drawing small houses for the most part. The ease with which some of the parts are rendered has brought out hundreds of stage-struck people, of all genders and sizes, who threaten to go upon the stage and afflict mankind (theatre-goers) with a plague, in comparison to which the lice of Egypt would be considered a blessing. Our last crew, enlisted from the friendly natives along the banks of the Potomac, acquitted themselves in a manner highly creditable. I refer to the Colored Opera Troupe who have for several nights delighted and amused the aristocracy of Washington at the National Theatre. Their advent is an entire success. C. A. Fleetwood appeared as Sir Joseph Porter, and performed his part right royally. William Cole made an admirable Captain Corcoran, but at times seemed to feel not quite at ease, keeping his eyes almost constantly on the side door as though he momentarily expected an event which should render his exit in that direction a prime necessity. W. T. Benjamin as Dick Deadeye over acted his part; perhaps he would find greater success in the character of dead-beat. The name of Mrs. Smallwood is upon every tongue; graceful in movement, a full, rich voice, she may some day rank among the Carys and Kelloggs. W. C. Chase possesses, in a higher degree, the elements of a great actor than perhaps any other amateur in the city. His recent appearance at Ford's Opera House, as Pizarro, though miserably supported, convinced all that he possesses histrionic talents of a high order which only require reasonable cultivation. Mr. Fleetwood, it is rumored, will soon organize an opera company, with the view of travelling through the country and performing in the principal cities. I fear such a venture will fail, and in order to render success doubly sure, I advise "Chris" to take his troupe to a new field—say to Timbuctoo—where, on account of the appetite of the natives, the opera business has been sadly neglected. I pledge him and his troupe an affectionate, hospitable reception and permanent engagement, provided he does not take Dick Tompkins along, whose cuticle, especially that portion which covers his cheeks, would prove a file between the teeth of the most hearty, robust and stalwart native. By all means let's keep our Dick at home if one would have Chris' opera troupe succeed.

Meetings for the relief of the poor colored emigrants are still being held here, and the titled gentry, none of whom in point of rank fall below "professor," have at last an opportunity—bi-metalic in its results—not only of seeing their names in print, but of proving to their patron saint, Roderigo, that the advice given by him hundreds of years ago fell not upon stony places, but upon good soil and will, even in the present emergency, be faithfully followed. Prominent among these is O. S. B. Wall—a veritable brother-in-law—who, early in the war,

"Drilled so much they called him captain,
And he got so dreadfully tanned,"

that he in cold blood, to the great satisfaction of his three Snake-like brothers, closed his boarding house at Oberlin, Ohio, and taking his life in his hand, made a forced march from that city to Washington, which, for celerity of movement and daring enterprise, is equalled only by the retreat of the "ten thousand" under Xenophon. Arriving at Washington he threw himself body and soul into the patriotic business of persuading other people to join the army as volunteers, but later on as substitutes. But the acme of his glory was reached when, about the close of the war, he attached himself, military title and all, to that saintly institution, the Freedman's Bureau, and through the influence of this connection drew rations and clothing for the "poor contrabands" with a persistency and insatiability utterly unparalleled in the philanthropic history of the country. As to the final disposition of these rations, etc., there is a difference of opinion; and I shall not pursue the subject further, except to say that if the stomachs of the emigrants are as numberless and unfathomable as were those of the contrabands under this worthy's administration, you may consider the whole thing *une affaire flambee.*

We have had a great revival here, and many of the churches have received large accessions to their lists of membership, notably among them the Presbyterian, or Fifteenth Street Church, over which the eloquent Grimke presides. The sermons of this young Spurgeon have not only aroused the members of his congregation, but directed attention to the good work of a few young married women in the Sabbath and missionary schools whose labors had heretofore been unnoticed and unmentioned. Mrs. Meriweather, Mrs. Col. A. T. Morgan, Mrs. J. D. White, and others, have for months been laboring silently but effectually to gather the little waifs into the Sabbath and mission schools.

I have written a longer letter than I intended when I began, and I feel that I should apologize for its want of general interest, but if you will allow me to sail into the superficial foibles of a half dozen social lights in this wicked city I shall turn my pen to the discussion of graver questions, political and otherwise; in the meantime let us sing "God save the Queen."

VINDEX.

ENTERPRISE.

Appreciating the importance of the National Conference of Colored Men, held at Nashville, Tenn., May 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th, 1879, and believing our people would like to know what was done by it, we publish the proceedings in full (mainly as reported by the Nashville American) in this issue, and have printed 1500 copies in order to accommodate our friends who may desire to obtain the proceedings in detail.

Those familiar with newspaper work, and its cost, will no doubt appreciate the liberality and enterprise displayed by us in this matter and send in their orders at once for a number of extra copies of this excellent edition.

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The Louisianian.

P. B. S. Pinchback,
EDITOR & PROPRIETOR.

SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1879.

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No notice taken of anonymous communications. In all cases we require the writer's name and address, not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith. Rejected communications cannot be returned, neither can we undertake to preserve manuscripts.

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WM. H. WARD, Kentucky.
CHARLES T. GRAHAM, Ohio.
S. W. SMITH, Richland.
R W FITZHUGH, Natchez, Miss

GOV. NICHOLLS has modified his quarantine proclamation.

U. S. SENATOR Wm. P. Kellogg has our thanks for public documents.

THE Nashville conference is over, and "Well Done" is the verdict pronounced.

HON. B. F. JONAS has our thanks for a copy of Senator Bayard's speech on the army bill.

MEETINGS to raise funds for the relief of colored emigrants still continue to be held in the Northern cities.

WE have received the circular of the Colored Refugee Board, of which Rev. Moses Dickson is President. We wish them abundant success in their work of benevolence.

THE Congressional Mississippi River Improvement Committee has rported favorably on the bill providing for a commission to consider the improvement of the Mississippi river.

THE Democrats are amazed that a president, who for two years was believed to have no backbone, should have lately found one strong enough to withstand the assaults of the Solid South.

THE Kansas fever has at last reached Old Caroll in a most aggravated form. A bulldozed poliee jury and a bitter *Conservative* had nothing to do in bringing about this disaster; of course not.

STEAMBOAT officers at St. Louis deny that they refuse transportation to colored emigrants when they have money to pay their fare, and also that any such numbers as reported are on the banks of the Mississippi river awaiting transportation.

THE resolutions and speeches at the Vicksburg convention were fair enough to tempt the most enthusiastic Kansas emigrant back to our Southland. We shall await the fruits of those fine words with gasping eyes and watery mouths.

WHY is it old Zach Chandler is always charged by the Democratic press with drunkenness whenever he makes one of his keen, cutting speeches? A free indulgence in the whiskey he drinks, if its tendency is to quicken and bring out hard pan sense, wouldn't hurt any of the other senators.

THE New York *Sun* does not recollect any instance in the history of American politics where a candidate has advanced more rapidly forward to nomination for President than John Sherman has in the last week. It is needless to remark that the *Sun* doesn't like it, and that it can't stop it.—*Inter-Ocean.*

THE RESULT.

We present to our readers in this issue as full a report of the national conference of the colored men, held at Nashville, as our limited space will admit. The result has been more than gratifying. It was a success in every particular. The day of our arrival in Nashville we had doubts and misgivings, but they were soon dissipated when the "second sober thought" of the delegates had been taken.

The presence of nearly one hundred and fifty delegates, representing nineteen States of the Union, at this particular juncture of its affairs, betokened an event of more than ordinary significance. The time of the assembling was opportune. We had reached a crisis in the history of the race. In two Southern States our people were fleeing from what they termed "the wrath to come," while the reflex influence of the movement threatened the whole labor system of the South. The dread of a loss of wealth through a loss of labor made the whites of Louisiana, Tennessee, Mississippi and Arkansas feel the necessity of grappling with a question that bid fair to overshadow all other questions in the Nashville conference; hence it was that the Vicksburg convention assembled the same week. The result of both convention and conference has gone to the country side by side, and the country has carefully weighed and judged the results.

We do not desire to over-estimate either the importance or the influence of the gathering at Nashville. Candor compels us to admit that the present migration fever gave impetus to the movement, and perhaps but for this fact the conference would have fallen still-born. It is enough for us to know, however, no matter what the causes were that led to the movement, that in point of numbers, intelligence and results, it surpassed our most sanguine expectations. The prominence given to it by the leading journals of the country, proves conclusively that when people make an effort to bring before the public an intelligent expression of their grievances, there are always willing hands to aid them.

Looking at its practical workings then, and leaving the question of prominence out of consideration, we find that the conference recommended—if migration must be resorted to by our people—a systematic scheme, and to that end every State will have an organization to further the movement. The national emigration committee, headed by Senator Windom, was endorsed. It set forth, in an address to the country, the wrongs and grievances of the race. It presented to our youth the necessity of a higher moral and intellectual standard, while the dignified manner characterizing its conduct of business commanded universal respect. The sanitary condition of our people, their political status, the benefits of skilled labor, the importance of supporting and maintaining our own papers, and the necessity of a more united action, were all graphically brought out in able papers from thoughtful men.

The result that was most gratifying to us, however, yet remains to be stated. It had been heralded from one end of the country to the other that this movement was a "Grant boom," inspired and worked by prominent Republican leaders in Washington. We note with pleasure the total absence of politics in its proceedings. Not a single political resolution was passed. The conference denied, in one of its reports, that it met to make capital for the North. In manly and independent tones it recounted the intolerant proscription that prevailed in the South, whenever the rights and privileges of the race were called in question. In that it did right. It did not appeal to parties. It appealed to men, irrespective of party for that justice and fair play of which Americans boast.

Our white friends in the South would do well to hearken to the "still, small voice" now possibly impotent. Our people are restless and dissatisfied. There must either be a change in the manner of treatment or a change of home. The Negro has been the foot-ball long enough, and the Nashville conference is the first notice that the kicking must be stoped. True, we are progressing, not only in intelligence, but in wealth and numbers; but our homes in many States are not protected, nor our rights as citizens respected. This must not be. Under a healthy system of tolerance and fair play in the future we could make marvellous progress. We desire to make that progress here in the land where our degradation was the greatest, so that our triumph may be more complete. If we find we cannot do it here peaceably and unmolested, we will go to a country where it can be done. Privation, want, suffering, everything will be endured when we know that out of it will come firmer resolves, holier objects, higher aims and grander conceptions of life and duty in the future. The conference meant just that, and nothing more.

Constitutional Convention.

The convention is making haste slowly. But few ordinances intended to become parts of the constitution have been adopted, and these are of a general nature. The several committees are busily at work, and two or three of the most important will doubtless complete their labors, and submit their reports the first part of next week, when the work of framing the organic law will begin in earnest.

During the past week several interesting debates took place, and we note with especial pleasure the general disposition to allow the fullest debate on all vital questions.

The debate on the report of the committee, in the case of Mr. Benham, was peculiarly interesting and demonstrated in the respectful attention given to Ex-Gov. Warmoth's rejoinder to Mr. Caffrey's reflections upon him, a healthy growth of public sentiment in favor of free speech. We hail this as a harbinger of a better and brighter future for Lousiana.

Our friends in the country must not expect a detailed report, in our columns, of the proceedings of the convention, but they may rely upon our keeping them posted upon all matters that directly affect their interest.

PERHAPS no people in the country extends such an open, generous-hearted hospitality and welcome as the people of the good city of Nashville. During the recent session of the national conference they vied with one another in social courtesies and attentions. Indeed Nashville was selected, because many friends remembered the kind treatment received there three years ago. The attendance on its sessions by its best citizens, and the unflagging interest shown by the young people who attend its colleges, proves how important and all-absorbing its deliberations were regarded. In common with many others, we desire to acknowledge these courtesies and return our grateful thanks for the same.

IN olden times kings had their jesters with cap and bells for their amusements. The Nashville conference had its laughing stock in the person of G. W. Gentry. A greener and more obstreperous individual never lived. We are sorry that Kentucky could not procure a better representative. Gentry has been dubbed Red Bill by a member of the Louisiana delegation. The amount of ignorance displayed was immense. Another delegate tried to redeem Kentucky in a five minutes speech, but gave up the task as hopeless. The ignorance of Red Bill could not be washed out or atoned for in that length of time.

THE grand skating tournament given by the "Emblem of Progress" Lodge G. U. O. O. F., on last Thursday evening, at the New Orleans Skating Rink, was a grand success. The scene was brilliant, and the floor was alive with merry skaters until way into the night. The names of the lucky competitors for the several prizes will be published in next week's issue of the LOUISIANIAN.

CHEW Jackson's Best Sweet Navy Tobacco.

A Second Veto.

The President has once more interposed his objection to the passage of the partisan legislation of the Democrats in the army bill. The reasons alleged by the Executive against this second army bill—unnecessary, because it cannot prevent interference with elections; contrary to all precedents for the use of the military to execute the laws, from Washington's clear to Lincoln's administration, and lastly, its subordination of the Federal to State authority—leaves the Democrats in a dilemma as humiliating as it is embarrassing. It were simple to assume, because the President's objections in the first veto have been met by the new bill, he was bound to give it his approval. This bill, as it proves, steers quite clear of the dissenting views in the first veto, but falls within a new mesh of complications which the Democrats did not anticipate. The reasoning of the President is so clear and conclusive, and his citation of the landmarks laid out by every preceding Executive in the employment of the military power to sustain the national authority in election as in other matters so forcibly pertinent, the honest masses will again as in the first veto applaud his action as that of a wise and patriotic captain at the helm of State.

At no time within the last twenty-five years have the Democrats been engaged in a more losing fight with the Executive than in the contest now on their hands. The eminently bold course of the President in his so-called Southern policy, to the manifest detriment of his party, has long since convinced the country that his public acts are actuated by lofty statesmanship. In the purely partisan issue forced on him, he is happily placed in a position to serve his party well, by serving his country best. For, view it in any light one will, the fight is between National and State rights—a question supposed to have been dearly washed out in a bloody ocean of four years' civil war. As long as the stupidity of the Democracy will keep this question before the country by a series of legislation which revives the unpleasant memories of what should be a dead past, just so long will they be digging the pit into which they are to fall. Common sense by this time would demand the passage of the necessary appropriation bills and an end of an unnecessary but determined fight with the President.

If the fool-killer could but just pass through and decimate the Democratic ranks of their hotspurs, perhaps the party would then get brains enough to believe it is high time both for its sake and the nation's for Congress to be gone home.

THE "plebes" held a meeting a few days since, and the rising young humorist, better known as "Mallet," was elected to the post of honor.

Do you want *Harpers' Weekly*, all the leading pictorials and daily papers of the country? Then don't fail to give Haley, at the corner of Camp street and Commercial alley, a call.

A GRAND public installation of the G. G. A. O. B. S. L. and C. will take place at Turner's Hall, corner Lafayette and Dryades street, on Tuesday, the 27th inst., commencing at 7:30 p. m. The LOUISIANIAN returns thanks for complimentary tickets.

A STRAWBERRY entertainment will be given under the auspices of the Esther Chapter, at the Free Mission Baptist Church, on Common, near Claiborne, May 22, 23 and 24. Rev. Mrs. Dale, as the lady manager, will certainly insure success. Doors open at 7:30 p. m. Admission twenty-five cents. Thanks for a ticket.

SOME of our young men have concluded to while away the oppressive hours of summer in a very innocent and pleasant way. Large and commodious rooms have been selected in a very aristocratic portion of our city, where the young men and their friends will be able to spend agreeable evenings of social enjoyment.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

Prominent Men of the Race in Council.

Unusually Large Attendance.

Harmony and Unity Characterize Its Closing Session.

THE ASSEMBLAGE DISPERSE SINGING, "JOHN BROWN'S BODY LIES MOULDERING IN THE GRAVE AS WE GO MARCHING ON."

At an early hour on the morning of the 6th inst, the day appointed for the assemblage of the National Conference of colored men, Nashville, Tennessee, was astir. Cedar street and the avenues leading to the capitol were literally alive with people of all classes, condition and color; and by 12 m. the galleries of the hall of the House of Representatives, which had been kindly tendered for the use of the Conference by the Tennessee Legislature, were packed with people of both sexes and races. Not a seat was vacant, and every inch of standing room in the aisles and promenades was occupied.

At about 1 o'clock, when the delegates had been seated and the utmost quiet and decorum prevailed, ex-Gov. P. B. S. Pinchback, of Louisiana, advanced to the Speaker's stand and said:

We have met here, gentlemen, pursuant to the following letter, which will explain itself.

He then read the circular of invitation.

It was my purpose, yesterday, when I was notified that it would be expected of me to call this conference together, to make some extended remarks foreshadowing what I supposed would be its policy, but unforeseen circumstances have completely unfitted me for any extended remarks at this time. We supposed—at least, I supposed—the objects of this conference and mode of its formation were so familiar to the people of the country that we would meet with no opposition from any class, and more especially did we expect to receive a cordial greeting from the colored citizens of Tennessee. Many of us here today were here two years ago, and we look back to that time with pride and recall with pleasure the generous hospitality showered upon us by the people of Nashville without respect to race or color, and we believed that, coming here at a time more important to all classes we would be received with open arms, and that every good citizen would give us his moral support. I am not prepared to say such treatment will be accorded to us. There seems to be a disturbing element here disposed to interfere with our deliberations. There seems to be a set of gentlemen, claiming to be delegates elected by the people, who think they have greater rights than we have. Now, we have no objection to these delegations, but we form the nucleus of this conference, and we supposed every man who came here in good faith would come in here and help do the work. I trust that will be the result of this gathering, and whether it is or not, I want to say to you, in all sincerity, that there is enough of us, men of calibre, who, if we do our duty, will leave here proud that we met together. I am satisfied of this. When selected to call this meeting to order, I was instructed to call to the chair a gentleman well known to the country, Mr. John R. Lynch, of Mississippi. I therefore appoint Col. Lewis, of Louisiana; Messrs. Bentley, of Georgia, and Nicholls, of Indiana, to conduct him to the stand.

Mr. Lynch was then escorted to the stand. On taking the chair he said:

Gentlemen of the Conference: This is an unexpected honor which you have conferred upon me, and, being unexpected, you will not require of me any extended remarks with regard to the course that is contemplated to be pursued by this conference. I will not attempt to map out the course that you should pursue or to recommend what, in my judgment, you should do, but still I will take the liberty of making a suggestion or two; first, in regard to the aims, objects and purposes that the originators of this movement have in view, and to express the hope that your deliberations may be so characterized and conducted as to reflect credit upon the race with which we are identified, as well as upon the country of which we form a part.

Now, my friends, a number of gentlemen, whom you all will agree with me, having the interest of the colored people especially at heart, came to the conclusion several months ago that it would be advisable to have some leading colored men of the country assemble somewhere, not in the interest of any particular party, especially not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as free, independent American citizens for the purpose of presenting to the country the grievances of the colored people. There were some differences of opinion as to how best this could be done. Some thought if we would meet in a convention as political conventions are usually called together, we would get together an organization of gentlemen who would best represent the feelings of the colored people, but, having considered the matter very maturely, carefully and considerately, we came to the unanimous conclusion that we would, in all probability, get a larger, better, and possibly a more influential organization of the country, and have extended invitations to gentlemen of the country, for the purpose of conferring together on the solution, not to speak authoritatively except as our standing in the community will authorize and justify us in doing, but that we would meet and present to the country some of the reasons that agitated the public mind in regard to the colored people, and Nashville was selected as the place and the 6th day of May as the time to have this general assembly. We are here in pursuance of that invitation. I am here to meet you and to express the hope that all who feel an interest will calmly, deliberately and dispassionately consider the questions for which we have been convened, and express the further hope that our action will be such as to reflect credit upon us.

Some things have occurred which did not present themselves to our attention. When this movement was inaugurated the present migration of colored people from the Southern States had not, at that time, begun, and it was not seriously apprehended that anything of the kind would be done to the extent we find it has assumed. This, therefore, was not one of the chief objects for which we were convened or requested to convene, for that question did not present itself, but has since assumed important proportions. Now it is to be hoped we will calmly deliberate on that question. It is a question that demands our attention, attracts the attention of the country.

I will take the opportunity to make this suggestion, that in considering this matter you should bear in mind the fact that the South being the home of the colored people, they being adapted to its climate, its soil, having been born and raised there, we should not advise them to leave there unless they have very good reason to do so. On the other hand, we should not advise them to remain where they are not well treated. [Applause.] But we should endeavor to inculcate in their minds a sufficient amount of independence to say to the country and to the people with whom they are surrounded that "if our labor is valuable, then it should command respect." [Applause]. That if we receive this respect, if our rights and privileges are accorded to us here, doing all we can to improve our condition, I feel that we should live together. Further than that, at least, we should not go. If the colored man can receive that treatment, attention, consideration and respect he is entitled to under the law in the South, the South is the place for him. If not, they are justified in receiving where they can. [Applause.]

Then let us go on calmly, dispassionately, with our deliberations, and when all classes begin to see their mistakes, perhaps all will come together, heal up all past differences, conceding the rights of all, and continued peace and harmony and good will and friendship will prevail and the South will prosper.

J. W. Cromwell, of Virginia, and F. L. Barnett, of Illinois, were appointed secretaries.

Rev. J. W. Lapierre offered prayer.

J. Henri Burch, of Louisiana, moved that the secretaries make out a roll of delegates. Carried.

Robert Nicholls, of Indiana, was elected vice president.

The conference then took a recess until 3 p. m., to enable the secretaries to make up the roll.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

By the time the hands of the clock in the hall pointed to the hour of three, the galleries were thronged until there was not even standing room.

Ex-Congressman Rapier, of Alabama, was appointed secretary, in the absence of one of the regular secretaries.

John D. Lewis, of Philadelphia, moved the appointment of a committee of five on order of business.

C. O. H. Thomas, of Tennessee, moved to strike out "five" and insert "one from each State."

Rev. Allen Allensworth, of Kentucky, moved to lay this motion on the table, which was lost.

The original resolution was then adopted, and the chair announced the following committee:

J. D. Lewis, of Pennsylvania; Jas. D. Kennedy, of Louisiana; Richard Allen, of Texas; C. O. H. Thomas, of Tennessee; R. R. Wright, of Georgia.

Gov. Pinchback called attention to the fact that the conference had taken a recess in order to allow a roll of delegates to be prepared. He called for the report of the roll of delegates. This call was sustained, and the secretary read the roll of delegates, as follows:

Tennessee—Rev. D. E. Ashbury, J B. Bosley, Wm. Sumner, T. A. Sykes, Rev. Isaac Lane, Rev. R. F. Boyd, J. H. Hendricks, Rev. G. H. Shaffer, J. W. Grant, T. W. Lott, D. W. Williams, L. A. Roberts, J. H Kelley, Dr. J. F. McKinley, W. C. Hodge, H. H. Thompson, Randall Brown, A. J. Carr, B. A. J Nixon, M. F. Womack, A. F. A. Polk, A. N. C. Williams, W. A. Henderson, B. J. Hadley, J. H. Burrus, Rev. D. Wadkins, W. F. Yardley, Rev. G. W. LeVere, J. C. Napier, Rev. C. O. H. Thomas, W. F. Anderson, N. A. Menifee.

Mississippi—John R. Lynch, R. W. Fitzhugh, Theo. H. Greene, Adams county; Thomas Richardson, Claiborne county; Rev. J. H, Buford, David Wilson, W. H. Murry, Bolivar county; B G. Boothe, S. P. Cheers, Yalabusha county; J. C. Mathews, Marshall county.

Kentucky—Allen Allensworth, W. H. Nicholl, George W. Gentry, E. Lewis, G. W. Darden, Rev. Bishop Miles, J. F. C. Snogg.

Louisiana—P. B. S. Pinchback, James Lewis, J. Henri Burch, Lewis T. Kenner, James D. Kennedy, Charles A. Burgeois.

Missouri—Wm. R. Lawton, J. W. Wilson.

Arkansas—M W Gibbs, J P Jones, J R Roland, J T Jennefer, H W Wadkins, George N Perkins, G F Antoine, Isaac Gillem, David A Robinson, M G Turner.

Alabama—H C Binford, Edward Pope, Samuel Lowery, Prof E S Brannan, Prof W H Leonard, Rev F R Lynch, W O Lynch, Rev H W McAlpine, David Wilson, Rev J M Goodloe, G S W Lewis, W J Stephens, J H Thommasson, S P Smith, Peter Murphy, Rev J W Washington, David Ripley, Wm H Ashe, L W Cummins, Hon J T Rapier, W H Councill.

Georgia—C C Wimbush, Rev L H Holsey, Rev J A Wood, S C Upshaw, W B Higginbotham Madison B ount, J H Delamotta, Rev Toby Stewart, Rev Geo. Valentine, J W Brooks, Moses H Bentley, W A Pledger, R R Wright, R Nicholas, J W James.

Indiana—F D Morton, Rev W H Anderson Rev G McFarland, Hon J S Hinton, S Daniels, W H Russell, J A Braboy, G L Knox, J H Clay, Robert Nicholls, J W James.

Virginia—R A Perkins, J W Cromwell, John H Averett.

District of Columbia—J H S Parker.

Texas—Richard Allen, B F Williams J R Taylor, E. H. Anderson.

Oregon—Rev D Jones.

Pennsylvania—J D Lewis, Wm Still, F J Loudin, Dr C V Wiley.

Illinois—J J Bird, F L Barnett.

Ohio—Colonel Robert Harlan.

Nebraska—H G Newsome.

South Carolina—Hon J H Rainey.

Minnesota—S E Hardy.

The roll being completed, Rev. Daniel Wadkins, of Nashville, offered the following:

Inasmuch as many of our people have mistaken the call for a National Conference to be a call for a national convention, and, acting upon this mistake, have held meetings and elected delegates to meet in Nashville on the 6th day of May, 1879; and as these persons and delegates have incurred the expense of both time and money in so doing;

Resolved, That we now invite them to seats in this conference, to participate in full with those invited by the national executive committee.

Resolved, That this invitation be extended to all so elected and sent from other States and territories, but not to any claiming the right from any meeting held in Davidson county.

No action was taken on this resolution. A dispute arising relative to the permanent organization.

W. F. Yardley, of Tennessee, read the following resolution:

Resolved, That the present officers of the conference be and they are declared to be the permanent officers of this body.

J. S. W. Lewis, of Alabama, said the delegates should at least have the right to choose their own officers. He seconded the resolution.

B. F. Williams—Mr. Chairman, the gentleman's time is out.

The Chairman—He has yet a quarter of a minute.

B F Williams—Then there is just that difference between your watch and mine. [Laughter].

Ex-Congressman Rapier, of Alabama, asked if the temporary officers should be removed, would it not invalidate all the action of the morning.

The Chairman—No.

The previous question was then demanded, and the resolution was adopted. This action was loudly applauded.

John D. Lewis, of Philadelphia, moved the appointment of a vice president from each State.

Several motions to table this resolution were made and were declared out of order. The motion was read as a resolution, and a call for the previous question on its adoption was not sustained.

M H Bentley asked what was the object of the resolution.

John D Lewis said it was simply a matter of honor.

Mr. Bentley said they did not have time for honors.

They didn't come here for honor, but for business. He moved to table the resolution.

A vote was then taken on this motion and it was adopted.

J B Burroughs briefly eulogized the "Jubilee Singers," and moved that they be requested to sing one or two of their songs. This was adopted unanimously, and the Jubilee Singers appeared and were introduced to the conference amid great applause.

The song, "Steal Away to Jesus," was rendered in splendid style, and was followed by a burst of applause. The "Lord's Prayer" was then chanted in equally as good style, and was followed by similar applause. The following are the names of the singers who were present:

Miss Maggie Porter, Miss G M Gordon, Messrs. H D Alexander, B W Thomas, Calvin Anderson, F. J. Lowdin.

Mr. Y T Jeneier offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted;

Whereas, we the delegates of the colored citizens of the United States in conference assembled, having heard with so much delight the sweet songs of the celebrated Jubilee Singers,

Resolved, That we do hereby express our delight and most respectfully request them to give us an entertainment at such a time as shall be hereafter arranged.

Rev. Allen Allensworth offered a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee of nine on resolutions. Referred.

Richard Allen, of Texas, moved for a committee of nine on rules. Referred.

C. O. H. Thomas asked that all the members of the conference who had papers be allowed to have them referred to the appropriate committees. He also moved that some of these papers be now read.

The Chair said papers could be so referred.

Rev. D. W. Wadkins offered the following resolution:

In order to concentrate our thoughts and expedite the business of the conference,

Resolved, That we define the work to be—first, to ascertain as near as practicable the present condition of the colored people in the United States and territories, and second, to suggest a proper course for them to pursue to ameliorate said condition.

The resolution was referred to the committee on resolutions.

Ex-Congressman Rainey offered a resolution calling for a committee on finance to collect funds for stationery, printing, etc. He also suggested that two pages should be appointed. The resolution was adopted.

Rev. G. H. Shafer offered a resolution that the delegates be seated according to States. Agreed to.

Rev. Allen Allensworth moved that —— Gooch and John Marry be appointed pages. Carried.

J. A. Brayboy, of Indiana, offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the duty of this conference to hear the grievances of our Southern brethren concerning their impaired

rights, concerning education, and all their rights as American citizens, politics excepted.

Resolved, That unless the white friends take immediate steps to guarantee such rights, there will be an immediate emergency existing for an entire exodus of the race from said States in order to ameliorate their condition.

Resolved, That it is the duty of this conference to appoint an executive committee at the capital of each State of the several States to aid, if deemed necessary, in locating those colonies in the various States, in order that they may make a good living and educate their children.

Resolved, That this conference should take steps by appointing one man for each State, whose duty it shall be to call a national convention of the Republicans, the convention to meet in Cincinnati, to take under consideration their political rights and any other business that they may deem proper.

The resolutions were referred.

W. A. Pledger offered a resolution providing that all resolutions be first referred to the State delegation of which the introducer was a member. Referred.

J. Henri Burch asked if merely reading a resolution constituted a reference.

The Chair stated that the resolution had been referred at the request of the introducer.

Mr. Pledger said his resolution had been jeered at. He would be with them on any resolution which might hereafter be introduced.

W. H. Anderson, of Indiana, said he meant no reflection on any one.

Col. Lewis, of Louisiana, suggested that the apologies of both parties be accepted.

G. S. W. Lewis offerred the following, which was referred:

Resolved, That the action of the railroad conductors in forcibly ejecting the ladies of the Jubilee Singers from the ladies' car merit our undivided condemnation.

John D. Lewis, of Pennsylvania, from the committee on the order of business, made the following report:

The committee on order and business beg leave to submit the following:

1. They recommend that the conference meet daily at 9 a. m. and remain in session until 12 m. The conference to take a recess until 2 p. m., when it will remain in session until 5 p. m.
2. The morning sessions to be opened with prayer.
3. Reading minutes.
4. Report of committees.
5. New business.
6. Reading of papers.
7. Discussion on said papers.
8. We recommend the appointment of the following named committees to consist of five members each:
1. Migration.
2. Education and Labor.
3. Permanent Organization.
4. Resolutions.
5. The Colored Press.
6. Address and Resolutions.

The resolution referred to your committee to appoint a committee on rules has been duly considered, and we recommend that Cushing's Manual be adopted as the guide for the government of this body. Your committee further recommend that debate on all questions brought before this conference, except the subject of migration, be limited to 7 minutes, and in no case shall a member be allowed to speak more than twice on the same question without unanimous consent.

J. D. LEWIS, President.
JAMES D. KENNEDY,
R. R. WRIGHT,
RICHARD THOMAS,
C. O. H. THOMAS.

A question then arose as to whether gas could be secured for a night session.

J. Henri Burch said no; they had gas only in the daytime.

G. L. Knox, of Indiana, said there was an impression abroad that the Northern delegates had come here to take away the colored people in the Southern States from their homes. That was not so. ["Take him out," from the galleries.]

An invitation to visit Central Tennessee College was read and action thereon deferred. Adjourned.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

President Lynch called the conference to order at 9 o'clock a. m., May 7, 1879, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. J. T. Jenifer.

The chairman stated that it was not necessary to read an extended report of the proceedings of the day before, as the American had very courteously made a very full and correct report of the proceedings, which possibly all had read.

The reading of the minutes was accordingly dispensed with.

On motion of Hon. James T. Rapier, of Alabama, the names of H. V. Cashin and P. Crenshaw were added to the list of delegates from Alabama.

The chairman said that all delegates, when they arose, should announce their name and State, and then they would be certain to be reported correctly.

A request was made by the Chairman that there be no applause from the galleries.

T. W. Henderson, of Kansas, was enrolled as a delegate.

Gov. Pinchback moved to increase the membership of the various committees from five to one from each State, or seventeen in each committee, that number of States being represented.

After considerable discussion, Rev. Allen Allensworth, of Kentucky, called the previous question.

Gov. Pinchback's motion then prevailed.

Invitations from the Central Tennessee College, Nashville Institute and Fisk University were read.

Rev. Allen Allensworth moved that a special committee of five be appointed to report at what time it would be best for the conference to visit the above institutions.

J. D. Lewis, of Pennsylvania, moved as a substitute that the invitations be referred to the committees on education and labor. Carried.

J. B. Taylor, of San Antonio, Texas, was enrolled as a delegate.

RESOLUTIONS.

Rev. W. C. McAlpine, of Alabama, offerred the following resolutions;

Whereas, There are questions of vast importance to come before this body; therefore

Resolved, That certain hours be set apart to consider the report of each committee, and that a committee of three be appointed to arrange the time for each committee to report and to consider said report. Referred

By J. Henri Burch, of Louisiana:

Resolved, That the printed report of the recent labor convention held at Vicksburg, Miss., on May 3 to 6, be referred to the committee on migration, when appointed with a request that they report back to this convention whether, in their opinion, the real causes and remedies for the present exodus appear in any part of said report. Referred.

By R. R. Wright:

Resolved, That each delegation of the several States submit to this conference, by written report, prior to the discussion of the topic of migration, a succinct statement of the true condition of the masses, or country inhabitants, of their respective States with regard to labor and education; and be it further

Resolved, That such statement govern the action of this conference with respect to the subject of migration. Referred.

By W. H. Council, of Alabama:

Resolved, That whereas the principal business men and farmers have entered into contracts for the present year, we deem this an untimely season to agitate the question of migration, believing that it would prove detrimental to the interests of all concerned.

2. That we are opposed to a general and sudden exodus of our people for any part of the country, but recommend a careful consideration of the matter for all who desire to emigrate, and after such mature consideration and calm reflection, if they are satisfied that their condition can be improved by emigration, we advise gradual migration.

3. That the emigration question should be considered apart from politics, and should be based upon business calculations. Referred.

By J. H. Burrus, of Nashville:

Whereas, By the history of the beginning, progress and final triumph of the idea of the right of the people in contradistinction of the divine right of kings in the Old World, and by the inception and glorious termination of the "irrepressible conflict" between freedom and slavery in this country, as well as by the beginning, progress and successful ending of all progressive and liberal thought, new ideas in the world, we are admonished of the great need of the continual agitation of the question of familiar wrong to be supplanted by unfamiliar right; therefore be it

Resolved by this conference, That we recommend to our people everywhere not to cease to protest before the civilized world and their fellow-citizens against the unjust, invidious and unchristian discrimination against their civil rights as American citizens now practised in these United States, especially the Southern States. Referred.

B. F. D. Morton, of Indiana:

Whereas, There are many subjects of the greatest importance to the colored citizens of this country, both as a part and a whole; and,

Whereas, There are many of the ablest and most talented members of this conference who have spent some time in preparing to make a special effort upon the subject of migration and others of equal import; therefore,

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to receive the names of such persons who have especially prepared themselves upon any of the important questions which have been collected for the consideration of this conference.

Resolved, That a special time be designated and announced, together with the name of the person or persons who desire to present the result of their investigation to this conference. Referred.

Samuel Lowery, of Alabama, asked to present the following:

Whereas, The Democratic party of the South have proclaimed to the world that this is a white man's government, made expressly for them, and that they will not suffer at the peril of their lives the choice of colored men to positions of honor and emoluments where they are in the majority; and they will resort to the disruption of this government rather than suffer or permit the civil and political equality of our race in the South; and,

Whereas, We have trusted in vain the hope to enjoy perfect and complete liberty in this land of our ancestry, from whose unpaid labors its wealth and prosperity have sprung, and the pledge given us by the true Republicans of the North for freedom and human rights have been stealthily snatched from us and our prosperity in encroachments without any prospective redress. We are denied the right of a trial by a jury of our countrymen, in the administration of the judicial laws of Alabama, and as a consequence, misdemeanors are executed as felonies, and the courts as now administered are crowding the prisons, coal mines and penitentiary, where our race are sold into slavery as in days of yore, under the pretense and forms of law. They deny to us school privileges to improve the minds of our youths equally. We toil by day and night to make more cotton for the landlord than we did in slavery, and we enjoy no more than one peck of meal and two and a half pounds of pork with the labor of our women and children.

Therefore, believing the Lord has provided a land of freedom where we can enjoy all the rights of humanity, and has opened the hearts of the Christian men and women of the American people of the North to aid us in our struggle to settle on them, and as a convention of the most prominent men of our race will shortly assemble at Nashville to perfect and complete such a settlement on such a basis or plan which will promote our success and the pride and glory of the American people; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this meeting send to the Nashville convention —— delegates, and pledge our efforts to aid this cause for our freedom, and we appoint an executive committee of fifteen colored men to organize this work. Referred.

George M. Perkins, of Arkansas, moved that no more resolutions be offered for the present. Carried.

On motion of W. F. Yardley, of Tennessee, Taylor Miller, of Rutherford, and J. H. Hopkins of Maury county, were admitted to the floor of the conference. He said they had been elected delegates under the impression that the conference would be a convention.

Col. Robert Harlan, of Ohio, moved that papers be now read that the president might retire and appoint committees. Carried.

Vice President Robert Nicholls was then called to the chair, and the President retired.

J. W. Cromwell, the clerk, then read a paper from Dr. A. T. Augusta, of Washington, D. C., on the "Sanitary Condition of the Colored People of the United States."

W. H. Council, of Alabama, and Hon. J. H. Rainey, of South Carolina, commended the paper. The latter said:

Mr. President: I desire to ask indulgence of the conference for a short time, while I submit a few remarks, in order that those present might understand who the author of the paper just read really is. Dr. Augusta is a gentleman of color, a practising physician, and a resident of the city of Washington. He was the first medical and surgical officer of our race who was admitted to rank in the army of the United States—being the first having the manhood and temerity to apply and risk the ordeal of a rigid examination to which he was subjected.

To the credit of himself and his race, he passed a successful examination, and it is worthy of note to say that he continued in the faithful and satisfactory discharge of his official duty until the close of the war. Sir, it is a source of pride and inexpressible gratification to know that we have those fully indentified with us possessing so high order of talent as to treat intelligently scientific as well as other subjects of vital interest to us. Among us we have men of capacity and breadth of comprehension, giving them the power to grapple with intricate questions involving literature, science, medicine, hygiene, and various other prominent branches. We have no special fault to find with our color, but we have cause for fault-finding when that is made the ground on which to construct prejudice and proscription against us.

The opportunity has and is now at hand, when, despite oppression and other unreasonable opposing elements, we will demonstrate our true manhood. We have shown our bravery in the late war by fighting under a flag that gave us no protection and for a government that repudiated and ignored our rights.

Let us strive as true men—press on emulating the good combinations to be found in the character of the white man, and shun scrupulously his vices.

J. M. Cromwell, of Virginia, made some remarks complimentary to Dr. Augusta.

Elder Daniel Wadkins, of Tennessee, raised the point of order that they had come here to discuss subjects and not men.

Vice President Nicholls said the reason he did not entertain the point of order was from the fact that whenever they could find a colored man whom they could eulogize, they should eulogize him. [Loud applause.]

Secretary Cromwell then read a paper written by J. C. Corbin, of Arkansas, on "The Condition of the Colored People."

J. T. Jenifer, of Arkansas, offered the following:

Whereas, This conference of the colored citizens of the United States is one of the most interesting and important assemblies ever convened in America; and

Whereas, The proceedings of this conference should be published,

Resolved, That the committee on finance be most respectfully requested to propose some plan to the conference for the publication of the proceedings in pamphlet form.

Adopted.

Adjourned until 2 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The conference reassembled at 2 p. m.

Secretary Cromwell read the following list of committees appointed by the President:

Resolutions and Address—Hon. P. B. S. Pinchback, Louisiana; Hon. M. W. Gibbs, Arkansas; Thomas Richardson, Mississippi; Allen Allensworth, Kentucky; J. W. Wilson, Missouri; W. H. Ashe, Alabama; W. A. Pledger, Georgia; J. W. Cromwell, Virginia; J. H. S Parker, District of Columbia; Richard Allen, Texas; D. Jones, Oregon; William Still, Pennsylvania; J. J. Bird, Illinois; Col. Robert Harlan, Ohio; H. G Newsome, Nebraska; Hon J H Rainey, South Carolina; S E Hardy, Minnesota; T W Henderson, Kansas.

Education and Labor—J W Cromwell, Virginia; H C Binford, Alabama; J T Jenifer, Arkansas; J. H Burrus, Tennessee; T H Green, Mississippi; W H Nichol, Kentucky; Col. James Lewis, Louisiana; J W Wilson, Missouri; R R Wright, Georgia; J H S Parker, District of Columbia; J R Taylor, Texas; D Jones, Oregon; F J Loudin, Pennsylvania; John J Bird, Illinois; Col Robert Harlan, Ohio; H G Newsome, Nebraska; Hon J H Rainey, South Carolina; S E Hardy, Minnesota; G McFarland, Indiana; T W Henderson, Kansas.

Resolutions—Hon J H Rainey, South Carolina; G S W Lewis, Alabama; Isaac Gillem, Arkansas; T W Henderson, Kansas; W H Maury, Mississippi; John Garnett, Kentucky; Louis T Kenner, Louisiana; J W Wilson, Missouri; Rev Toby Stewart, Georgia; R A Perkins, Virginia; J H S Parker, District of Columbia; E H Anderson, Texas; D Jones, Oregon; William Still, Pennsylvania; J J Bird, Illinois; Col. Robert Harlan, Ohio; H G Newsom, Nebraska; G H Shaffer, Tennessee; J A Brayboy, Indiana; S E Hardy, Minnesota.

Permenant Organization—J D Lewis, Pennsylvania; H W McAlpine, Alabama; J P Jones, Arkansas; Rev G W LeVere, Tennessee; J H Buford, Mississippi; J F G Snowden, Kentucky; C A Bourgeois, Louisiana; W R Lawton, Missouri; T W Henderson, Kansas; J H Delamotte, Georgia; R A Perkins, Virginia; J H S Parker, District of Columbia; E H Anderson, Texas; D Jones, Oregon; F L Barnett, Illinois; Col Robert Harlan, Ohio; H G Newsom, Nebraska; Hon J H Rainey, South Carolina; S E Hardy, Minnesota; W H Anderson, Indiana.

Colored Press—F L Barnett, Illinois; W F Anderson, Tennessee; David Wilson, Mississippi; Bishop William H. Miles, Kentucky; James D Kennedy, Louisiana; W R Lawton, Missouri; David A Robinson, Arkansas; Samuel Lowry, Alabama; C C Wimbush, Georgia; J W Cromwell, Virginia; J H S Parker, District of Columbia; Richard Allen, Texas; D Jones, Oregon; John D Lewis, Pennsylvania; Col Robert Harlan, Ohio; H G Newsom, Nebraska; T W Henderson, Kansas; J W James, Indiana; Hon J H Rainey, South Carolina; S E Hardy, Minnesota.

Migration—J T Rapier, Alabama; Geo W Perkins, Arkansas; T W Henderson, Kansas; J C Napier, Tennessee; R W Fitzhugh, Missirsippi; G W Gentry, Kentucky; J Henri Burch, Louisiana; W R Lawton, Missouri; W B Higginbotham, Georgia; John Averitt, Virginia; J H S Parker, District of Columbia; B F Williams, Texas; D Jones, Oregon; John D Lewis, Pennsylvania; F L Barnett, Illinois; Robert Harlan, Ohio; H G Newsom, Nebraska; J H Rainey, South Carolina; S E Hardy, Minnesota; G L Knox, Indiana.

The secretary was requested to read several communications or letters from persons unable to attend the conference, among which was the following:

CHARLESTON, S. C., April 30, 1879.

The Charleston Colored Western Emigration Society:

At a meeting of the said society, held at the residence of the chairman on the 30th day of April, 1879, to take into consideration the question of what this society will do in response to the call issued by our fellow sufferers, the friends and promoters of the movement for the emigration of the colored people from the former Southern slave States and Territories of the country, for a convention to be held at Nashville, Tenn., on the 6th day of May, proximo, the officers of this society and many other persons being interested, and an informal discussion and free interchange of views upon the subject being had, it is on motion voted,

1. That it is with regret that this society finds it impossible to have personal representation at the said convention, and,

2. That this society, now counting many adherents and coadjutors in South Carolina, herewith sends its hearty greetings to the convention at Nashville, and pledges co-operation by every lawful means in our power, in carrying out the plans and purposes which said convention in its wisdom may devise and promulgate for the accomplishment of the common object of removing our people from the scenes of their great tribulations.

The colored population of the United States throughout the entire land, when the government by the perfidy of the very people who now oppress us had to maintain a gigantic struggle at arms to preserve its existence, was faithful among the faithless found.

In slavery itself, when smitten on the one cheek we turned also the other, we bided our time. But it hath pleased God to weaken the galling chains of slavery so far as that consummation could be effected by law. But what is mere freedom to man, without civil and political rights? Literally, we have no rights here which a white man is bound to respect. We are as lambs among wolves. If at the risk of our lives we approach the polls to vote at an election our vote when deposited is rendered inoperative and ineffectual by the deposit by a political opponent of a pack of fifty tissue ballots; or otherwise our vote is wholly suppressed outright, and never counted for the candidate of our choice. In the courts the colored man obtains no justice, partiality is the order there. The boast is proudly made that this is a white government.

Let us appeal to the good people of the country to aid us in changing the place of our abode to the free States and Territories. We have willing hands as ever. We have strong arms still. We are sneeringly told that we are too poor and have not the means of defraying our expenses in removing from here to the free States and Territories. We have no apology to make for our poverty. It comes illy from those who have enjoyed our unrequited labor for hundreds of years the taunt that we are poor.

Voted, that the foregoing, signed by the officers of this society, be transmitted to the Nashville convention, with the request that the officers of said convention furnish this society with a certified copy of the proceedings of the said convention and with such other papers as they may be in possession of of interest.

M. G. CAMPLIN, Chairman.

JAS. N. HAYNE, Secretary.

Having read the above communication, J. H. Burrus, of Tennessee, moved the reference of it and other letters to the executive committee, which motion was adopted and the papers so referred, after motion to lay on the table, a call for the previous question, and a reference to a special committee, had been voted down.

The secretary then read a paper from Wm. Stewart, of Bridgeton, N. J., on "The Necessity of a National Review devoted to the Interests of the Negro-American."

The Chairman stated the next paper to be read was one by Bishop Miles, on the "Moral and Social Condition of the Negro." The reading of this paper was deferred.

The following resolutions were offered by S. C. Upshaw, of Georgia:

Whereas, Both the members of this conference and the citizens at large are anxious to have a more direct knowledge of the educational, social, financial and political condition of our people; therefore,

Resolved, That one or more members of each delegation from the Southern States be requested and allowed ten minutes for the purpose of deliberating upon the above subjects, and further, that a designated hour be agreed upon for the above consideration.

By R. R. Wright, of Georgia:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this conference that we highly appreciate and commend the action of Senator Windom and others who are striving to systematize the exodus of our despairing brethren from the oppressing South.

Resolved, That we hold in grateful remembrance the generous and liberal response of a portion of the country toward relieving our distressed and fleeing contrymen.

By W. A. Pledger:

Whereas, Matters pertinent to the colored race may arise that may necessitate the calling of a convention or conference unless otherwise provided for; therefore,

Resolved, That an executive committee, composed of one delegate from each State, be appointed by the Chair.

Resolved, That the Chairman of this convention be chairman of that committee.

Referred to the committee on permanent organization.

By Samuel Lowery, of Alabama:

Resolved, That this convention appoint a committee to welcome the peerless general and patriotic statesman, Gen. U. S. Grant, ex-President of the United States, to the shores of his native country from his tour of travel in the Old World, and inform him in an address of the undoubted confidence the colored citizens of the South retain for him, and their trust for his future usefulness and the glory of his country, in the hope he is prepared to serve its call. Referred.

By Rev. C. P. Murphy, of Alabama:

Whereas, The various courts of the Southern States have denied the colored man the right of sitting on juries where civil and political acts are involved; therefore,

Resolved, That we, in national convention assembled, do feel aggrieved as citizens of the United States of America and ask that something be done. Referred.

By M. H. Bentley, of Georgia:

Resolved, That before taking final steps towards emigration, we ask for and demand our political rights in the South.

Resolved, further, That in States where there are eight or nine congressmen, we claim a representative of two of them; where there are three or four districts, we claim one, and in that proportion throughout the Southern States.

Resolved, That the various districts now represented by white members take in rotation, each in turn, for colored representation. Referred.

By John J. Bird, of Illinois:

Whereas, The late labor convention, held in Vicksburg, did among other things set forth the following, to wit: "The apprehension on the part of many colored people, produced by insidious reports circulated among them, that their civil and political rights are endangered or likely to be;" and,

Whereas, Said declaration does, as is common among the class of men largely represented in said convention, seek to avoid the real issues underlying the widespread and deep-seated dissatisfaction existing among our people in several of the Southern States; and,

Whereas, it is the sense of this conference that the object of calling said convention one day in advance of the conference, was intended to forestall its action on the subject of emigration; therefore

Resolved, The we, the representatives of the colored people of the United States, in national conference assembled, do hereby deprecate such action and denounce this wanton refusal to admit facts as they exist in regard to the political proscription, murderous and unjustifiable assaults upon innocent citizens in our midst, whose only offence is that they seek to exercise the rights accorded to them under the laws of our land and country.

Resolved, That we will not, shall not, receive these specious promises as a sufficient guarantee for future protection, but accept them as cunningly devised schemes to stay the present exodus of the colored people, who are seeking, in a legitimate and praiseworthy manner, to relieve themselves from the wrongs and oppression which have debased their labor, crushed their manhood and denied them their inalienable and constitutional rights. Referred.

Gov. Pinchback moved that, in order to give the committees time to work, the conference, when it adjourned, adjourn to meet at 12 m. to-day.

Gov. Pinchback said that the time had come in that convention when longer forbearance would be a crime. He was here interrupted by C. O. H. Thomas and others, when he remarked that Thomas had disturbed the proceedings of that meeting more than any twenty men in it, and he did not propose to yield to his interruptions.

This met with a good deal of opposition, C. O. H. Thomas, of Tennessee, throwing out some insinuations that the motion was made in order to practice some sharp dodge, or legedemain, which would be detrimental to the objects of the convention.

Several delegates here arose to points and questions of order and information which rather rasped the Governor, who said, tartly, that one rule did not seem to prevail in that meeting, and that was the rule of gentlemanly courtesy. He had never raised a question of privilege. He had uniformly sat quietly until the gentleman speaking was through, and then arose decently and gentlemanly, and he demanded of the conference the same courtesy. He did not understand what those things meant. He understood the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Thomas) was pregnant with a speech and was anxious to deliver it. The Governor said he was not there seeking place, but he was there to help do something for his poor down-trodden people. It was necessary to be deliberate about it. Committees were necessary in all deliberate bodies, and the conference should go slow. It was the duty of the committee to put this report in such a form as the conference would adopt, and he didn't want to see the work half done. If the gentleman (Mr. Thomas) wanted the position on the commitee in which the president had seen fit to place him (Gov. Pinchback), if he (Thomas) thought he could fill it, he was willing he should have it; he would cheerfully yield to any who thought the responsibility was so light. A member should not impugn the motives of any other delegate. He had come there with none other than the best of motives. Was it not known that he had left the convention of Louisiana, of which he was a member, now in session in that State, to form the organic law of the commonwealth? Would he leave that responsible position and come here unless he thought he knew the importance of this meeting? And dared he (Thomas) or any honest man to asperse his motives in the face of that fact? Would he (Thomas) look back to a few days ago, when, called by the people to serve them in the constitutional convention of the state of Louisiana, he had resigned the position of internal revenue officer at $8 per day to be a member of the convention at $4. He had sacrificed his time and his purse to serve his people, and shame upon the man who arose to asperse the motives of such a man simply to raise a howl in the galleries. [Cries of "Shame!" "Shame!" "Shame!"] He cared not for the applause of the galleries; he was there to perform his duty to his race. [Applause].

The motion was lost.

J. J. Bird, of Illinois, offered the following:

Whereas, we have listened with sorrow and regret to the remarks of the gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. Burrus, recounting the cruel and uncivil manner in which the Jubilee Singers have been recently treated by the employees of one of the railroad companies of this State, therefore,

Resolved, That we, the representatives of the colored people of the nation, in national conference assembled, do hereby utterly denounce and condemn such acts as being indecent and inhuman in the extreme, and that the persons committing the same deserve the censure and condemnation of all good citizens, irrespective of sex, color or nationality.

A motion was made to adopt the resolution unanimously. The president said it would be so adopted if no objection was made. Objection was made by A. Pledger, of Georgia.

W. F. Yardley, of Tennessee, thought that no man would object to the adoption of such a resolution.

Richard Allen, of Texas, arose, and, looking in all directions, asked who was the man who had made the objection. "Who is he?" he repeated over and over again, "I want him to stand up; I would like to see him."

There was now a good deal of excitement. Pointing his index finger at Allen, Pledger said: "Here I stand; I am the man, and as good a man as ever wore a pair of number sixes." He said he had objected under the idea that it was a violation of the rules. He withdrew his objection, but not because the gentleman attempted to dictate to him.

Hon. J. H Rapier, of Alabama, offered an amendment to appoint a committee of three to secure legal counsel to bring suit in the federal court against the railroad. Carried, and the resolution, as amended, was adopted.

The conference then adjourned.

THIRD DAY'S SESSION.

At nine o'clock a. m., May 8, 1879, the conference reassembled, President Lynch in the chair. The proceedings were opened with prayer.

C. O. H. Thomas said he had remarked on the evening previous that he desired the following morning to answer pertinently the reflections cast upon him by Gov. Pinchback, but as the Governor was not present he would postpone his remarks.

The following resolutions were offered and referred:

By B. A. J. Nixon:

To the Honorable and August Body of Colored Men in Conference Assembled: We, the people of Giles county, Tenn., send greeting to your honorable body, and earnestly ask that you, after having carefully considered the various subjects announced by the executive committee, to present to us and the colored people of these United States some remedy for the untold injustices which our people have endured and are enduring. We, of Giles county, can very easily enumerate the evils under which we have been laboring for more than a decade of years. But our best judgment and most extended research have been baffled when attempting to devise a remedy. It has been said, and wisely, we think, that in counsel there is much wisdom. Therefore, we ask your body to promulgate to the colored people of the United States some remedy for the innumerable injuries we are suffering.

Whereas, the colored people of the Southern States are being stirred up on the subject of emigration; therefore,

Resolved, That a committee be appointed by this conference to be known as the National emigration Committee, consisting of one gentleman from each State, whose duty it shall be to organize similar committees in each of the Southern States.

By J. Henri Burch, of Louisiana—Whereas, there is now going on and has been for some time past, an exodus of the colored people of certain Southern States to the State of Kansas and other Northern States; and,

whereas, whilst said exodus has on the one side attracted the attention, sympathies and efforts of all lovers of universal equality before the law, it has, on the other, given rise to various harsh criticisms on the part of those opposed to emigration, who are using the silence of the negro as a race to declare that it is put into operation solely for political purposes, that the negro is happy and contented in the South, and that he has no real cause for emigrating, and other specious arguments calculated to place the emigrationists in a false position; and,

Whereas, the purpose of dealing with this question, as colored men and from a national standpoint;

Resolved, That the Committee on Emigration, when appointed, be requested to take under consideration, and report back to this convention the following subjects pertaining to said exodus.

1. What are the causes that have given rise to the exodus movement among the colored people?
2. Is there any truth in the report that the scheme was gotten up to irate the North against the South?
3. What are the remedies to be pursued to stop the movement? Would the colored people accept concessions if made to them, and if so, of what nature?
4. Are the colored people pursuing the wisest course by migration?
5. How is the movement likely to affect the two political parties in their respective States and nationality?
6. Any other observations that may occur to the committee.

By F. W. Scott:

Whereas, there is an unsettled state of affairs in the Southern States, resulting in the exodus of a large number of colored people from that section of the country; and,

Whereas, this state of unrest is pervading the entire colored community, creating almost uncontrollable anxiety on their part as to the final result; and,

Whereas, it is not the desire of the people, nor the sense of this conference, that the migration of said people continue to the evident and irreparable loss to both the colored and the white; and,

Whereas, it is expected that this conference willtake into serious consideration this matter in all its various aspects, be it therefore

Resolved, That it is due to the colored race, especially to those of our suffering brethren of the South, that this body do give a dispassionate, searching and positive expression as to the existing causes, whether political or otherwise, with a view to the incitement of a more earnest endeavor looking to their removal and immediate restoration of confidence and prosperity in said States, and that, should said causes be traced to the unjust discrimination toward the colored man on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude as to the real, proper and unmistakable source, that we, in the name, of the oppressed race of which this body is a part, deprecate in unmeasured terms, as shocking to the highest sensibilities of an enlightened civilization, such discrimination, being an unmerited return for the noble achievements of the negro, the blessings of which the white race are the happy recipients. Be it further

Resolved, That, in the discussion of this momentous and all-absorbing question we indulge in no language which justly and impartially interpreted will cast any reflection upon the white man or reflect discredit upon this body.

By C. O. H. Thomas—Resolved, That this conference of representative colored men of the United States of America are pledged by the sacred bond of kindred blood and of a common humanity to devote their best efforts for the establishment of civil and political rights.

Resolved, That the rights of the freedmen are inseparable from the condition of freedom. Therefore, being free and invested with that potent talisman of liberty, the ballot, which will enable us to maintain our rights, we here declare that we wish to possess and exercise, as prudent, law-abiding citizens, all the rights possessed in common by other citizens of the United States. We furthermore avow our earnest hope that the noble men and women of our country who are seeking to lift up their sisters to a higher plane of womanhood by giving them a larger scope in the activities and responsibilities of life by means of the ballot, may succeed in consummating their great purpose, for it would be a wretched commentary upon our liberty-loving profession if we proved not our faith by our works in refusing to aid in the complete freedom and exaltation of women.

Resolved, That the right to labor and to receive wages commensurate with the labor performed are sacred principles underlying the primal foundation of human society. It is, therefore, as much treason against God and humanity to close up an avenue of labor by which people gain a living as to steal the sweat of their brows by paying them wages inadequate to the work performed. The party in power, if it would continue to be the shepherd of the people, must not waver from a steadfast adherence to the principles which gave it its present glory.

The vast body of working men of this country, white or colored, require a policy which shall elevate labor, giving them higher wages and better homes in the South, and throw open to them the avenues of industry and emolument to race.

Resolved, That we behold with feelings of deep mortification and regret the widespread demoralization of the almost utter advancement of earnest efforts for self-culture and intellectual development by our young men and women. We call upon our ministers and others, to whose care is committed the moral and mental training of the young, to strive with all their might to reclaim those who are walking down the broad road that leads to moral and physical death.

Resolved, We also deplore the existence of a fact equally bad. Among our so-called leading men there is no general spirit of public enterprise nor of laudable ambition to place within the hands of their race the means of their self-elevation; no building associations; no Industrial avenues through which a knowledge of the various mechanical arts can be obtained. The work-shops, the counting-rooms, clerkships in stores, and employment in the busy commercial marts of our cities and towns are closed to us, as a rule, and we have yet to learn the sad lesson that the spirit of caste and of prejudice will continue to prevail, just so long as we are poor and needy.

Resolved, That on the subject of migration we will give it our especial unbiased and unprejudiced consideration, and will so act as will redound to the good and benefit of all concerned—to both rulers and the ruled.

By L. A. Roberts, of Grand Junction, Tenn.:

Whereas, there is at the present time a spirit of emigration existing among the colored people of the South, especially in the valley of the Mississippi, caused by oppression and otherwise, and non-protection in their rights as American citizens in the several Southern States, with no prospect existing of a change for the better, therefore,

Resolved, by this, the National Convention of colored citizens, first, that it is expedient and wise for all who can to emigrate to some parts of the United States where they can enjoy all the rights and immunities granted them under the constitution and laws of the United States without fear or molestation.

2. That, in order to carry out the project of emigration systematically and advantageously, an "Emigration Society" be organized, whose duty shall be to assist those who desire to leave their homes in the South in so doing, and to reach their destination in any of the Northwestern States or Territories, to establish bureau agencies at one or more points on the Mississippi, Tennessee, Cumberland, Ohio, and Missouri rivers, connected with the principal railroads leading West and Northwest, to look after the welfare and interest of the emigrants at the several places of embarking and change of cars and disembarking.

3. That, as the boats on the Mississippi river have refused to carry colored emigrants, steps be taken to charter one or more boats for that purpose, and, if possible, bring suit against those who have refused.

4. This society shall be known as the "North American Colored Emigration Society," and shall, in all respects, be officered and managed as other societies of the same character are best adapted to the wants and interest of those whom it seeks to benefit. Referred to the committee on migration.

By James D. Kennedy, of Louisiana—Resolved, that the committee on permanent organization be instructed to inquire into the practicability of holding a conference every year, and report the result of their labors at the earliest moment.

By W. F. Yardley—Resolved, that it is the sense of this conference that the colored people should migrate to those States and territories where they can enjoy all the rights which are guaranteed by the laws and constitution of the United States, and enforced by the executive departments of such States and territories, and we ask of the Congress of the United States an appropriation of $500,000 to aid in the removal of our people from the South.

T. W. Henderson, from Kansas, made a speech in which he stated that there was "smooth sailing" for the colored people in his State, and said that he had come to the conference at the suggestion of Gov. St. John, of Kansas.

R. Allen, of Texas, moved to postpone further consideration of the subject until 3 p. m. Carried.

By D. Jones, of Oregon—Resolution advising migration to the States and territories of the far West.

By Rev. J. H. Clay—Resolution authorizing the appointment of an executive committee with power to appoint auxiliary committees.

By J. H. Walker—Resolution authorising the conference to appoint a conference committee of five from each State to confer from time to time on the condition of the colored people, and if possible to render aid to the same.

By G. W. Darden, of Kentucky—Whereas, the colored people of the South are so cruelly treated in the South, being slain by rifle, clubs and lynch law; and,

Whereas, in the South slavery is not dead, but sleeping; and,

Whereas, in the South election day is a day of terror with the colored man; and,

Whereas, the Southern negro is not as well treated as the Southern dog by the white man, who rightly claims that this is a white man's government; and,

Whereas, the colored man is not recognized here as human, but, as Tom Paine asserted, as a species of the monkey; and,

Whereas, the ex-Confederate President seems to endorse Tom Paine by saying that the idea of educating the negro is a piece of nonsense; therefore be it

Resolved, that the colored man of the South save his dollars and cents in order to emigrate.

Resolved, that we pay no heed to such men as Fred Douglass and his accomplices, for the simple reason that they are well-to-do Northern men who will not travel out of their way to benefit the suffering Southern negro, and who care not for the interests of their race.

Wm. Lawton, of Missouri, in lieu of a resolution, wished to present an appeal from the colored citizens asking for aid for the destitute emigrants in that State. Objection was made, and the paper was read as a resolution.

By C. O. H. Thomas—Resolution expressing indignation at an order prohibiting colored citizens in New Orleans from holding their meetings after 10 p. m.

By Rev. G. H. Shafer—Resolution demanding the employment of colored teachers in colored schools.

By W. F. Anderson—Resolution requesting the railroads to pass all delegates home free who paid full fare to the conference.

By J. H. Kelly—Resolution urging the adoption of a system of emigration.

By T. W. Lott—To appoint a committee of three on the colored press.

By J. W. Grant—Asking Congress to appropriate an amount for 259 years for the assistance of those needing aid to emigrate to Kansas.

By B. A. J. Nixon—That the conference insist on the authorities in impaneling jurors to give the colored a portion of the jury, and especially when the prisoners at the bar are colored; that when candidates are electioneering they be asked whether they are willing to grant that right.

By J. M. Smith, of Tennessee—Whereas, there is great excitement among our race of people that is causing great suffering, we, therefore, ask of this conference to use their best influence in pacifying the minds of their countrymen. We ignore the practice that is played upon [illegible] man in this country. We therefore ask this honorable conference to give some aid, if possible, to their countrymen. The real cause is the reduction of wages and the shameful manner in which we are treated in traveling over the great thoroughfares of the country. We also clamor for our rights as free citizens in this country, which are denied us. This excitement is causing an exodus which is causing much suffering. They are leaving the homes of their childhood, trusting their fortune to an experiment. It is an experiment which, if it fails, will ruin us forever. We therefore ask that this matter be carefully considered and the minds of the people pacified. Thousands have left their homes penniless, not knowing when nor where it will end. We therefore demand all of our rights as citizens, and, unless we do receive our just rights, we resolve to emigrate to the North or Northwest. We pledge ourselves to come together in all parts of the country as free citizens and demand our rights. We know the color line has been struck and unless it be withdrawn, we will immediately seek for our suffrage, which, if it cannot be obtained here, we will remove from among them where we can enjoy our free privileges. We therefore ask this honorable conference to use their best influence in our behalf.

By Rev. Allen Allensworth—Whereas, there is now an exodus of colored people from some of the Southern States; and,

Whereas, there are certain parties trying to mould public opinion in the North to the effect that said exodus is a political trick, originated by and is being carried out for the Republican party, and that the Republican party is responsible for the suffering occasioned by said exodus; therefore, be it

Resolved, that we enjoin the public that the assertion is not true, but that said dissatisfaction and exodus is caused by the unrighteous, unlawful, unpatriotic and uncivilized treatment we receive from "our best friends" in the South, who exact exorbitant prices and rents for lands; who discriminate in free school facilities; who discriminate upon railroads, steamboats and at railroad stations and hotel accommodations, while at the same time they charge the same fare; who compel our ladies to ride in smoking-cars, among the roughest of travellers; who deny us representation upon juries, and who fail to protect us in our contracts for labor, and who hold up to the world through their papers our ignorance, our superstition and our crude efforts to live and at the same time disparage our leading educated men. It is, therefore, at the door of our best friends we lay the sources of all these evils.

Be it further resolved, that it is the belief of this conference that the Republican party is not responsible for the Freedman's Saving and Trust Company failure as a party.

By Randall Brown, of Nashville—To appoint a committee of twenty-two to name a place for emigration; that the conference defray the expenses of this committee.

By L. A. Roberts—To tax each member of the conference $1 or more to aid emigration.

Mr. James D. Kennedy, of Louisiana, submitted the following estimate of the value of the colored laborer in the South for 1877 and 1878: Total value of cotton, sugar, molasses, rice and tobacco raised, $17,298,930; of manual and other labor, $158,000.

By J. C. Napier—Whereas the civil and political rights of the negro, from the Ohio river to the Gulf of Mexico, are abridged and curtailed in every conceivable manner, he being denied almost every privilege that is calculated to elevate him in his moral, intellectual and political status; as compared with the public school privileges of the white man, are a mere mockery; in the courts, as compared to that justice which is meted out to the white men, his is entirely farcial, he seldom or never enjoying that right which the Constitution of our country guarantees to every citizen, namely, the right to be tried by a jury of his peers; and,

Whereas, it appears there is no disposition on the part of a great majority of the Southern people to grant to the negro those rights which the word citizenship should carry with it, or to relinquish any of their old customs and prejudices; therefore,

Resolved, that it is the sense of this conference that the great current of migration which has, within the past few weeks, taken thousands of our people from our midst, and which is daily carrying hundreds from the extreme Southern States, should be encouraged and kept in motion until those who are left are awarded every right and privilege to which the Constitution and laws of our country entitle us; or, until we are all in a land where our rights are in no respect questioned.

By B. F. Williams—Setting apart June 19 as a national holiday for the colored people as the anniversary of the emancipation of the race. The wives of the colored men were as dear to them as the wives and daughters of the Anglo-Saxons. They did not want their wives to sit with the white people if they did not want them, but they wanted them treated as ladies. [Loud applause.] They did not want their wives to sit at the same tables with the whites, for some of them were too nasty to sit beside them. [Applause.] Now, if you want to me talk you must hush. I am a Virginian by birth. Mr. Speaker, it has been two weeks since my legislature adjourned, and you must excuse me if I say Mr. Speaker—and I love to talk to the white people and talk to them about the time I used to sit with them at Aunt Susan's feet and eat from the same pan. [Applause.] I used to preach to the people and they all used to come and hear Uncle Ben preach, but now it is considered a disgrace to go to a "nigger meetin'." Sometimes newspaper reporters go there and take items, but nobody sees them and nobody knows where they sit, but they go. It ain't no use fightin' railroad companies in the courts; you are fightin' money then, and you had just as well try to throw the bullgine off the track. [Immense and continued applause.]

Rev. G. H. Shafer moved to amend by inserting the 22d of September instead of June 19.

W. H. Council moved to amend by inserting January 1, as a more suitable day.

J. W. Cromwell moved to fix upon the 15th of March, when the fifteenth amendment was passed

The Vice President thought January 1 the best day.

A member in the rear said they were not free yet. They were still killed in the South.

Mr. Williams—Yes; and they kill them in the North, as well as in the South. [Laughter.]

Col. Robert Harlan moved to lay the subject on the table.

A motion to adjourn prevailed, and a recess was taken until 2 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The conference resumed its deliberations at 2 p. m., and the business pending at the moment of adjournment, the resolution of B. F. Williams, setting aside the 19th of June as a national holiday for the colored people, was taken up.

The motion of Col. Robert Harlan to table the resolution was rejected.

The amendment substituting January 1 was lost by a unanimous vote.

A voted was then taken on the amendment making the date of the holiday September 22, and it was rejected.

The original resolution was then adopted without amendment.

A motion to reconsider was tabled.

The following resolutions were offered and referred:

By T. P. Crenshaw—Whereas, we, the colored people of the several Southern States, meet with many disadvantages by the misunderstanding each other; therefore be it

Resolved, that this conference recommend the organizing of printing press companies in each Southern State for their better understanding.

The following resolutions were offered and referred:

By Ferdinand L. Barnett, of Illinois—Whereas, we believe the American custom of spelling the word "negro" without a capital is an outgrowth of prejudice towards the race,

Resolved, that we call the attention of the press to the same with the hope that the wrong wil be remedied.

By David Wilson, of Huntsville—Resolved, that this convention appoint a committee of one from each State a delegation to memoralize Congress and the Executive of the United States, to locate in the West the "new Canaan" of the hope to the colored American and from which he can found a State on Republican principles to be governed by them from Governor down to the humblest officers without fear or intimidation, being settlers and owners of the soil.

By Judge M. W. Gibbs—Resolution advising colored men to become land owners. It was adopted by the committee on education and will be found at the close of that report. The author of the resolution made a short address, saying that the greatest drawback to the negro, whether he lived North or South, was his poverty. He advised greater economy and the accumulation of wealth as one of the greatest levers of advancement and power. The colored men were going out of the South and Germans and Northern and Northwestern people were coming into it.

By H. W. Ward, of Arkansas—Resolved, that a board of commissioners be appointed from the various States to select States and Territories where the colored people of the South may emigrate.

By M. G. Turner—Resolved, that the delegates from the different States elect one commissioner on migration from the delegation now in the national conference, to which all questions of migration may be referred.

By George N. Perkins, of Arkansas—Resolution 1. Favoring wholesale emigration on account of oppression and intimidation.

2. That from each State one or more emigration commissioners be appointed to select homes for the oppressed.

3. Providing for the appointment of auxilliary emigration commissioners.

4. Indorsing Senator Windom's resolution.

5. Proclaiming that the negro is not naturally inferior to the white man and is capable of self-government.

6. To memoralize Congress for a redress of grievances.

Ex-Congressman Rainey called attention to the fact that some necessary expenses had been incurred. He desired a collection to meet these expenses.

REPORT ON EDUCATION AND LABOR.

J. W. Cromwell then read the following report from the committee on education and labor:

Your committee, to whom was referred the educational and laboring interests of the colored people of these United States, would respectfully submit the following:

The wisest of men says; "Where no counsel is, the men fall, but in the multitude of councillors there is safety." Another great man has fittingly said: "If we do not educate, we must perish by our own prosperity." Yet another of earth's most gifted sons hath eloquently declared: "If you will, you can rise. No power in society, no hardship in your condition can depress you, keep you down in knowledge, power, virtue, influence, but by your own consent."

"Do not be lulled to sleep by the flatteries which you hear, as if your participation in the national sovereignty made you equal to the noblest of your race. You have many and great deficiencies to be remedied, and the remedy lies, not in the ballot-box, not in the exercise of your political powers, but in the faithful education of yourselves and your children."

The outcome of having to depend upon others to keep your business accounts is thus truthfully depicted by the annexed laconic illustration of the yearly settlement between the Mississippi valley planters and the ignorant colored laborers. Says the planter:

"One is a one,
Two is a two,
So all for me
And none for you."

In view of the quotations and facts above mentioned, we, the members of the National Conference of Colored Men, in Nashville assembled, May 6, 1879, most respectfully, but earnestly, recommend to our brethren all over these United States that as American citizens, and as progressive men and women, they do take for their motto:

"Ignorance is the curse of God,
Knowledge is the wing on which
We fly to heaven."

We further urge them to use their influence and suffrage at all times in the interest of public schools. We also urge upon them the great importance of giving their children a liberal education, and of using their influence to induce their neighbors likewise to give their children good educations. We also ask of all our fellow-citizens, of whatever race or party, to join with us in developing such a healthy state of public sentiment that the operation of the school systems in many of the States may be so modified that the public schools of said States may become more general in numbers and effective in operation. We would also recommend to the various State legislatures the adoption of compulsory systems of public education.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed upon conference from each State to memorialize their respective legislatures relative to this all-important question, and ask that a more efficient system of this great bulwark of our freedom, happiness, rights and liberties be established.

It is the sense of this conference that separate schools are highly detrimental to the interest of both races, and that such schools foster race prejudice, but where they do exist colored teachers should be employed in colored schools in preference to white teachers.

This national conference memorializes congress to place in the hands of a board of regents of colored men the sum of $300,000, the amount of the unclaimed bounty of the colored soldiers and sailors of the federal army during the late rebellion, the same to be used in establishing and maintaining an Industrial School for colored youth in the unoccupied buildings at Harper's Ferry, or at some other easily accessible point.

The national conference respectfully request the superintendent of the census to so interest his subordinates that the amount of wealth, the manufactures and commerce directly controlled by our people, be reported separately as well as consolidated in the aggregates reported, so that any future action affecting the social condition of our people may be determined by reliable statistical information, such as the annexed table of statistics furnished by J. D. Kennedy, of Louisiana.

ESTIMATED VALUE OF COLORED LABOR FOR THE YEAR 1877-78.

Commodity.	Quantity.	Total Value.	Proportion produced by colored labor.
Cotton, bales	3,811,365	$220,446,288	4 equals $127,778,930
Sugar, hhds., estimated	1,127,753	13,000,000	13,000,000
Molasses, gals. est'd	14,237,380		
Rice, tierces, estimated	300,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
Tobacco, hhds	506,000,000	39,200,000	3-5 equals 23,520,000
			$117,298,930
No estimate for grain, stock, cattle, vegetables.			
Menial services of women and children		1,000,000@$100 per an.	$100,000,000
Mechanical work, Manufacturing		100,000@ 500 each	50,000,000
Transportation, steamboats, drays etc.		20,000@ 400 " per an	8,000,000
			158,000,000
			$235,298,930

That the first want of the colored laborer, whether he shall remain at the South, or shall emigrate to the West, is to become a land holder, to own his own home.

That, in view of the opportunity to obtain land by homestead from the United States or purchase on easy terms from individuals in several of the Southern and Western Sates, the colored farmer who year after year contents himself with hiring his labor, without an effort to obtain land, not only impedes his own material progress but is a heavy weight upon the uplifting of his race.

REPORT ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

John D. Lewis, of Pennsylvania, read the report of the committee on permanent organization, presenting a constitution and by-laws for a proposed organization to be known as "The American Protective Society, to Prevent Injustice to the Colored People. The report was amended and adopted.

J. T. Jenifer, of Arkansas, offered a series of resolutions, concluding as follows:

"That the school-book, the Bible and the ballot, the three great levers of American civilization, will, with industry and discretion, do for us what they have done for others; hence we shall be left to work out our own destiny in contact with our white brother in the land of our birth.

"Judging from the progress made by the colored people, by the blessing of God, during the past fourteen years, the national tendency to peace and mutual understanding which is daily being brought about between the two races in America, we may sanguinely look for a proper adjustment of all our present difficulties.

"That, meanwhile, we call upon the better classes of citizens of the South to bury their prejudices against us, if they have any. Let us come together as friends, and we demand their protection: because we are all in the same ship and must sink or swim together. Hence we call upon the press of the country, the framers of public opinion and educators of the popular mind, to cease their negro hate and abusive misrepresentations of the colored race, and help to bring about this era of good feeling and peaceable adjustment which is so much desired by every good citizen of the United States.

"The firm maintenance of these preambles we call upon all colored citizens to pledge their most earnest endeavors to propagate and maintain."

J. P. Jones, of Arkansas, offered the following, which was adopted:

Whereas, we learn from well-founded rumor that the Hon. Benj. F. Butler has tendered and donated 20,000 acres of land in Wisconsin, and the Hon. Zach Chandler offered homes to 100 families of color who are fleeing from their homes in various sections of the South; therefore,

Resolved, That we extend to the honorable gentlemen our grateful thanks in the name of suffering humanity for their manifestation in recognizing the claims of a people whose condition appeals so strongly to the sympathy of the charitable.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the honorable gentlemen herein indicated.

The resolution of W. F. Yardley, introduced at the morning session, was then taken up.

James D. Kennedy, of Louisiana, moved to suspend the rules and proceed with the resolution memorializing congress for the appropriation of $350,000 to aid the suffering freedmen in the West. The motion was carried. He offered an amendment that the vice president be requested to lay the same before the senate for such action as they might deem necessary.

Col. Robert Harlan said:

Mr. President—As to the present migration movement of the colored people, let this be understood, that we have the lawful right to stay or to go wherever we please, and whenever we please, and how we please. The Southern country is ours. Our ancestors settled it, and from the wilderness formed the cultivated plantation, and they, and we have cleared, improved and beautified the land.

Whatever there is of wealth, of plenty, of greatness and of glory in the South, the colored man has been, and is, the most important factor.

He favored migration as the only present practicable remedy for our wrongs, and the exercise of that remedy in a large measure and at all hazards.

H. V. Robinson, of Arkansas, said he came here from the convention at Vicksburg. What they did at Vicksburg would have a tranquilizing influence. But what good have you done here to-day? While you may have done some good, you have done a great deal of harm. One says that the colored people are self-supporting and can go when and where they please. Another says they are able to take care of and protect themselves. The next thing is a resolution asking Congress to donate $500,000 for the purpose of sending people to Kansas from this country. When the time comes that we cannot live in this country, I am as much in favor of going to Kansas as anybody else. But let us be men; let us be like white men and see the impossibility of taking 4,000,000 of people away and setting them suddenly down in a strange country.

A young delegate—"Who paid you to come here?"

Mr. Robinson—I suppose the young man is just out of school, and don't suppose he ever hoed cotton in his life. [Applause].

The President—The gentleman's time has expired.

[Here the greatest uproar was raised on the floor and in the galleries, and expressions of the most radical intolerance were vented. Members of the conference rose up excitedly, while the "gods of the galleries," as it were, joined in the demonstration against Robinson, and attempted to cry him down, and a determined disposition to crush him was manifested.]

Hon. J. H. Rainey rose to a point of order, saying: "There is so much noise in this hall that we cannot hear what is being said. I want to add that I think we ought to permit a difference of opinion to be expressed on so important and vital a question in which we are so deeply interested. Any cause that cannot be discussed in both phases of its character is no cause worthy of deliberation. I favor migration, but I want to proceed intelligently."

When the president had by continued efforts finally secured order, a delegate said, "I ask fair play for the gentleman."

Mr. Robinson—Fair play need not be asked for me; I will see that I have fair play. How can you expect white men to be tolerant to you when you show that you have no tolerance for each other? If you are right your views will bear the light, and if wrong they will not? if wrong, they will not stand the test of argument. I never went to school in my life. There are graduates of universities who ought to be able to respond to me, provided they have the facts on their side. I say that this resolution is calculated to deceive every ignorant man in Mississippi. You memorialize congress to give $500,000 to assist the freedmen who have, or can, go to Kansas. You ask of men whom you have been all day abusing to extend charity to you, and you humble and debase yourselves in doing it.

A delegate—Well, why do they want to migrate?

Mr. Robinson—Because it is on account of the oppression of the white people. but I am opposed to encouraging wholesale migration, and having the poor colored man strewn along the banks of the Mississippi, there to die.

John D. Lewis, of Philadelphia, moved the previous question, which was carried, and the resolution was then adopted.

H. V. Cashin, of Alabama, moved that the rules be suspended in order to allow Mrs. Dr. Wylie, of Philadelphia, to read the paper of Rev. Dr. E. T. Tanner on the "Theory and Practice of American Christianity." This motion prevailed and the paper was accordingly read. A vote of thanks was tendered the author of the paper and also the reader.

The Conference then adjourned until 8 p. m.

NIGHT SESSION.

At 8:20 p. m. the Conference was called to order by the Chairman. There was a good attendance on the part of delegates, about three-fourths of them being present, and a good attendance in the galleries.

A resolution, not to have papers prepared by absent parties read, was taken from the table and adopted.

C. O. H. Thomas arose to a question of privilege, and began to impeach the motives of ex-Gov. Pinchback, but was ruled out of order.

J. H. Rainey moved that a collection be taken up to defray necessary expenses. Adopted. The total amount collected was $105.50.

A resolution providing for the printing of the minutes of the conference was introduced and action deferred.

The Conference, at 10:25 p. m., adjourned until this morning at 9 o'clock.

FOURTH DAY'S SESSION.

The fourth, and last day's session, was called to order promptly at 9 o'clock a. m., May 9, 1879, President Lynch in the chair; and after prayer by the Rev. T. W. Henderson, of Kansas, Mr. T. Richardson offered the following resolutions;

Recognizing the fact that the South is the natural home of the colored man, being adapted to the climate and familiar with the mode of producing that staple that forms a source of profit to the whole country, and with the assurance of his civil liberty and political rights, may in the future become a source of great profit to himself;

Resolved, that the question of the removal of our people from those districts or sections where their civil and political rights are abridged or ignored, be given that careful consideration and due deliberation that its importance demands.

Resolved, that this conference encourage the removal of our people from those sections of the South alone where race prejudice, or other consideration, render it apparently impossible for the two elements to live together in peace and harmony. The resolutions were not entertained.

J. W. Cromwell, of Virginia, read a paper on "The Necessity of Industrial and Technical Education."

J. T. Jenifer, of Arkansas, moved that a vote of thanks be tendered the author of the paper. Carried.

T. L. Barnett, of Illinois, read a paper on "Race Unity," and on motion of J. P. Jones, of Arkansas, a vote of thanks was tendered the author.

Theodore H. Green, of Mississippi, read a paper on the "Elements of Future Prosperity," and received the thanks of the conference.

J. P. Jones, of Arkansas, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, that the several State organization as perfected under the committee on permanent organization be and they are hereby empowered to draft addresses in their several States, appealing to all boards of trade, cotton exchanges and mercantile influences thereof, to lend their aid in restoring that equity in principles that regulate the laws of supply and demand to the end that the pledges made at the late session holden in Vicksburg by the representative heads of these several arms of industry to the negroes of the country may meet a happy fruition.

J. W. Cromwell said that the resolution did not go far enough. An appeal to the boards of trade would be ineffectual. The colored people planted too much cotton. They should raise their own meat.

The author of the resolution said he was willing to insert an amendment including an appeal to the planting interests. This amendment was agreed to and the resolution adopted.

After the reading of the report the conference took a recess until 2 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

At the suggestion of ex Governor Pinchback, the report of the committee on address was read a second time. He said it was by far the most important paper to be presented to the convention, since it was the address which was to go forth to the people of the United States as the voice of the convention on all topics. It was far more important than the report on emigration, for the latter was only an expression on one subject.

Several delegates arose with points of order.

Gov. Pinchback, asked energetically, if he could not speak without interruption. He said that the paper was not exactly what he wanted it to be. He supposed that each member would come prepared to furnish statistics of all the crimes committed in the South during the past five or six years. A catalogue of the crimes perpetrated upon the colored people, detailing names, dates and nature of the same, put forth by this conference when no political excitement prevails, would have exerted a powerful influence upon the country. Having this idea in view, it was at first intended to make the conference a Southern one, but Northern delegates were invited.

Here G. W. Gentry arose excitedly and exclaimed several times "Mr. Speaker!" but Gov. Pinchback did not yield the floor, and the conference endeavored to shout Gentry down, but he would not down.

The Chairman—Take your seat. The gentleman need not yield unless he desires.

Gov. Pinchback—I will yield.

G. W. Gentry—(Addressing the Chairman)—You are compelled to hear a delegate when he rises to a question.

The Chairman—Then you must do it in a parliamentary manner.

G. W. Gentry—I ask him if he did not make imputations on Northern States as well as Southern.

Gov. Pinchback—If you had waited you would have seen. I was about to say—

Mr. President—My original intention, as one of the early advocates of the Conference, was to have it composed exclusively of Southern colored men. I did not believe that any considerable number of our Northern brethren—enjoying as they do, with exceptional instances, every right and privilege of citizens, would care to make the sacrifice of time and expense necessary to attend a conference with us. But I am glad the proposition was abandoned and that our Northern brethren were invited and are here to-day to aid us in our deliberations. I am glad to welcome among us such a man as Mr. Wm. Still, of Philadelphia, whose learning, high moral character and devotion to the interests of his race command for his utterances respectful attention throughout the country. I know far better than the gentleman from Kentucky the condition of the colored people in the North. They were not freed until the shackles were struck off their Southern brethren. [Applause]. The opponents of the Conference predicted that it, like all colored conventions, would amount to nothing except to furnish an opportunity for a number of brainless blatherskites to raise to "pints" of order, privilege questions, questions of information, and the like, but I am glad to know that it will be productive of good, although we have a few of that class here who insist upon interrupting our proceedings. The eloquent, moderate and manly speech of our worthy president has done much for the success of our Conference. It has drawn from the Nashville "American"—a paper not very friendly to us—the admission that there is intelligence, moderation, and frankness, and safe leadership among us. Let us demonstrate this fact by listening to such men as Lynch, Rainey and others, and not take up the time of this body with points of order.

The speaker then rapidly reviewed the causes which led to the formation of the Republican party and the liberation of the colored man. He contrasted the time when the colored men were slaves, and now when they were sitting in conference in the proud capital of a Southern State. The colored man was the favored child of the nation, and the time had now arrived when public opinion had said. "You have done enough for him." Emancipated and enfranchised, with every means possessed by the white man for his protection the country expects us to protect ourselves. Our wives and daughters are as dear to us, and our homes as sacred as those of the white man, and we must defend and protect them precisely as the white man does. Now, Mr. Reporter, said Gov. Pinchback, don't put me down as an incendiary and inciting my people to violence. I am only advising them to do just what you would do, or any other white man when struck, to strike back. For, I will tell these people they may go to Kansas or elsewhere, and if they act there as they do here they will not escape persecution. Races, like individuals, must protect themselves. If you will show me a man that will let everybody hit and kick him about, I will show you a man that everybody is kicking; and the same is true of races. It has been circulated all over Nashville that I came here to oppose emigration, and to commit this conference against it. This is not so. I am one of those who believe it to be the duty of every man aspiring to leadership, in a crisis like this, to tell the people what he regards as the truth. He who follows in the wake of the multitude is not fit for leadership. I know it is sweet to have the popular applause, and I love it as dear as any other man, but I trust I shall never obtain it at the sacrifice of duty. I am not opposed to systematic emigration. If you can sell your property for anything like its value—not sacrince or give it away—and go with sufficient to establish yourselves in your new homes, I say go, but am not in favor of indiscriminate emigration. To mislead the ignorant masses at a time like this, when such grave consequences are involved, I think will be not only a mistake but a crime.

A passing reference was made by the speaker to the Jews, who, a few years ago, did not own a foot of land in Europe. Now one of that despised races race was Premier of England, and the Rothschilds hold the key of the money treasures of Europe.

The deplorable condition of Ireland, a few years ago, was also given a passing notice. The Irish people revered Daniel O'Connell, but whom do the colored men honor among their race?

The love and respect of white race for their prominent men, which is one of the secrets of their success, is illustrated in the South by the reverence they have for the memory of Robert E. Lee. In its great centres monumental piles are erected to perpetuate his memory. The whole country loves General Grant and delights to honor him. Starting as the Colonel of an Illinois volunteer regiment, he passes up through every grade of rank known to the army, and having no more honors to confer in recognition of his services, the rank of Lieutenant General was created and conferred upon him, not satisfied with that the rank of General was established and he was made General; not satisfied with that he was elected President of the United States; not satisfied with that he was elected for the second term, and I believe I reflect the Republican sentiment of the country when I say it is their desire to elect him for a third term. (Immense applause.)

We alone of all the races have no leaders. I lay no claim to leadership, but if I did I would not lead some of you.

Here a delegate inquired if Gov. Pinchback meant anything personal.

"No; I do not mean the whole conference," said the Governor, "but those who have so persistently disturbed the proceedings."

Governor Pinchback closed his remarks as follows:

Mr. President and gentlemen of the Conference, in my labors for the advancement and elevation of the race, I am not altogether unselfish. I am laboring to make the road through life for my children easier than it was for myself; and if, when at last called to answer the dread command, "dust to dust," I can feel like Toussaint L'Overture when he was borne away from his and home by Napoleon's soldiers, pointing back to it, said: "You think you have destroyed the tree of liberty. I am only a branch. I have planted the tree itself so deep that ages can never root it up," I shall be amply rewarded. (Great applause.)

At the conclusion of Gov. Pinchback's speech, G. W. Gentry arose and said: Since the gentleman made special remarks towards me and pointed towards me I would like—— (Laughter and applause.)

Here Gov. Pinchback remarked that he understood Gov. Marks was without the bar, and moved that he be invited to take a seat on the platform. The motion prevailed and President Lynch appointed Gov. Pinchback and Richard Allen to escort Gov. Marks to the stand.

Secretary Cromwell also moved that the same courtesy be extended to Comptroller Haines.

Mr Gentry, of Kentucky, continued: I have always told the young men of my State that Pinchback was a considerable of a man, (laughter and applause), but I have not found him wielding that same influence in Louisiana and Mississippi that I expected.

The President—The gentleman from Louisiana did not personally allude to any one.

Mr. Gentry—Yes, he pointed at me. (Uproarious laughter and applause.)

The President—If you do no more than point at him, you will be of equal honor. (Laughter.)

Mr. Gentry—Where is the gentleman? (Loud laughter and immense appl use.)

Col. Lewis, of Louisiana—If you will obtain the same status with the people of Kentucky that Gov. Pinchbock has in Louisiana, they will honor you. (Great applause.)

Mr. Gentry—I will state——.

Col. Lewis—Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. Gentry—No, sir, not from Louisiana. (Laughter.)

Mr. Gentry—In 1876, Pinchback made a speech before ten thousand Democrats——.

There were loud cries of "Time! Time!" and Mr. Gentry reluctantly subsided.

Ex-Congressman Rainey was then called for, and several delegates requested that he take the speaker's stand.

Mr. Rainey—O, I prefer to be among the plebians. (Laughter.)

Col James Lewis—Several of the ladies wish to look at you.

The Chairman—O, he is a married man. (Laughter.)

Mr. Rainey commenced by saying that he hoped the conference would not be disappointed in what he would say. We may never hold another convention. The same faces will never be mirrored against those walls. It behooves us, then, to do what we can with a purpose; that we send down to history our action, and, when it is read by the world, that we may not be ashamed of our action. We are a proscribed people, not because we crucified a Saviour, but because we have a different colored skin from others of this country. We have stood a great deal. We never rose and struck for freedom, as in San Domingo. The white people boasted of this, but it is well that we did not. Would they have had us strike down defenseless people, defenseless women and children? We showed our nobleness by not taking advantage of the situation. We want to say to the white people the time has come for us to give warning that we have stood all we can, and in more than one way we will show this soon. We have been enriching the white man, and the time has come when forbearance has ceased to be a virtue. We have come to that point when we doubt the protestations of those who say they are our best friends. Those in this conference are here for a purpose. It is to be hoped that the proceedings will be read everywhere. It is to be deprecated that there was a necessity for emigration. We have stood too much now, and I would not blame any colored man who would advise his people to flee from the oppressors to the land of freedom. Pledges were made at Vicksburg. They have been made before, and they have always been broken. [A voice: "Yes, and they will always be broken."]

The speaker then read a letter from a young friend in South Carolina, giving a melancholy view of the condition of the negroes in the "sunny Southland." He concluded by saying: "The people of South Carolina are with you in this movement, and we but await the time when we can join in a general emigration to a land of freedom."

J. J. Bird, of Illinois, made a lengthy speech similar in substance to the one made during the morning session. He devoted his remarks to a denial of any political significance in the resolutions introduced by the Northern delegates. While he was speaking Gov. Marks entered the hall and was escorted to a seat near the reporters' table by Gov. P. B. S. Pinchback.

B. S. W. Lewis (addressing J. J. Bird)—Is this protracted discussion on this report designed to prevent the report on emigration from being presented?

J. J. Bird—It is not my purpose.

W. S. Yardley said the proscription placed on the negro should be removed. If there were places in the South where he could not vote his sentiments, that was a reason for migration. The shops were closed against him, clerkships could not be obtained, there was no opening for him. If he was a favorite he might get a place as street scavenger, or in a hotel to polish bones. [Laughter.] He did not believe in the popular delusion of forty acres and a mule. He knew that in any new country hard work would be necessary, but they would be free. It was not so bad in Tennessee as it was in other States, but there was oppression here. He wanted his children to stand higher than he did, to be skilled mechanics or professional men, but where was the opening in Tennessee? [A voice—"Aint got none"—and laughter.] But they must learn to respect each other. He then moved the previous question, when tremendous confusion ensued, and a general demand forced the withdrawal of the motion.

Richard Allen, of Texas, rose, but yielded to ex-Congressman J. P. Rapier, of Alabama, who moved the previous question on the adoption of the report. After a good deal of random disputing the motion for the previous question was carried.

The chair announced that the time for general debate to close had arrived, and that the chairman of the committee (Gov. Pinchback), would be allowed one hour to close. Gov. Pinchback yielded his time to Jas. D. Kennedy, of Louisiana, who had read the report. Mr. Kennedy stated migration was not caused by low wages or the high price of land. They were only incidental questions. If the people could be allowed to remain unmolested, there would be no cry of migration to Kansas. That State had but 50,000,000 acres of land, while Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana had over 270,000,000 acres. There were millions of acres of uncultivated land in the South to-day. Texas stood with her 175,000,000 acres, an empire to herself, over five times as large as the great State of New York—larger even than the empire of France, and yet the negro did not seek her fertile lands. It was because the same spirit of intolerance existed there, as existed in Louisiana and Mississippi. He did not believe that going to Kansas would benefit the colored race. He did not believe in a hasty and indiscriminate exodus. He believed in migration, but he did not believe they should go without means to pay their passage, and to buy homes. To him it was a piteous and humiliating spectacle to see these people with a blindness bordering on fanaticism, leaving their homes and sacrificing their property without any systematic purpose in view. True the spectacle appealed to the country, for without doubt they had suffered every species of violence and wrong. They were insecure in their homes, life was not protected, nor was property in certain portions of the South. The truth of the whole matter was the negro was dissatisfied with the treatment received at the hands of the men who control the dominant party in the South, and if the men who controlled the commerce and trade, that owned the land and paid the taxes did not frown down and drive out the clique that winked at murder, outrage and assassination, then the sooner the negro left for other parts, the better. Candor compelled him to admit that at times it seemed as if they had only been deserted by friends, to be maltreated by political enemies. The report of the committee was too gingerly in the use of words so far as it related to the general government. He believed the goverment had the power to protect its citizens at home. He knew they had demanded reparation from foreign governments for insults offered our flag on the high seas. When diplomatic correspondence failed, then ships of war with shotted guns were called into requisition. It seemed that while we were progressing in art, science, literature and every thing that tended to a higher civilization, we were retrograding in our regard for human life and its protection. He could not remember the time, but history told him there was a time when the army of the United States was called into requisition to bring a fugitive slave in Boston back to slavery. Now it seems that the heresy of States rights and State sovereignty were basking in the sunshine of popular favor. They were restless and dissatisfied with their condition. It was this uneasiness that unsettled labor, and made the negro have doubts and misgivings for the future. This problem could be solved by the whites themselves, but not by conventions like that held at Vicksburg, where the same glittering generalities were spun out in forms of resolutions. They had had enough of that—of promises made to be broken—of assurances given only to be violated. The whites of the South should endeavor to localize their labor by making the negro land owners, and not rent land to them for ten dollars per acre that would not bring that price under the hammer. Above all they should have all their privileges and rights. This question would return every year until settled. Every year brought forth its responsibilities and duties, and every year new men would come prepared and able to grapple with them. This very uneasiness among the blacks of the South ought to teach the whites that something was radically wrong. He said that whether the negro remained in the South or went to Kansas, it would take time to solve this problem. History presented nothing to show that any servile race ever attained prominence except through ceaseless, unt ring, persistent effort. The old men who sat around him to-day, would not perhaps be here to witness their triumph. But the time would soon come when the young ladies and gentlemen who listened to him would proclaim to the world by industry, thrift, sobriety, intelligence and morality the wonderful progress and advancement of this people. He took his seat amid great applause and was warmly congratulated by members and visitors.

W. H. Bentley, of Georgia, did not think the report full enough.

J. W. James, of Indiana, said that he once thought that ex-Gov. Pinchback had deserted the negro, but he was glad to find that he was mistaken. He endorsed every word that Gov. Pinchback had said. He denounced the statement in the American that the Northern negroes came to encourage migration. He had left Tennessee for the far West, because he could not get his rights. He was for migration, unless the negro could get his rights where he was.

Rev. Allen Allensworth, of Kentucky, said he wanted to call attention to an editorial in the American, but was interrupted by a delegate who insisted that the gentlemen confine himself to the question.

The report was then adopted.

J. T. Rapier, of Alabama, said that the committee on migration had had hundreds of resolutions referred to it, and had done the best they could. He moved an adjournment until 8 o'clock, at which time they would take up the report on migration, and take the vote after three hours' discussion and call the previous question. This was carried and the conference adjourned to 8 p. m.

On the reassembling of the conference, at 8 p. m., a report was submitted by the committee on press, appealing to the colored people to support the papers published by men of their own race. The report concludes as follows:

"We also recommend that the conference adopt the following resolution, offered by T. L. Barnett, of Illinois:

"Whereas, the custom of spelling the word Negro with a capital letter is the outgrowth of prejudice against the race.

"Resolved, that we call attention to the error, and request the American press to correct the same."

The report was adopted.

A resolution endorsing the action of Judge Rives, of Virginia, "in bringing the State Judges of that State to a strict account for their violation of the United States laws in refusing to allow colored men to serve as jurors when their rights as citizens are at stake," was adopted.

The following report was presented and adopted:

"Your committee to whom was referred the Jubilee Singers' civil rights case, have been as diligent and thorough in their endeavors to get at the true status of the case as the limited time allowed them would permit, and they beg leave to report as follows:

"There have been one criminal and six civil suits brought in the Fedral Court.

"There as never been any test made of the civil rights bill, and, to prosecute the suit in question, it will require at least $500.

"Your committee are of the opinion there never will occur a better opportunity to test the effectiveness of the civil rights bill, and therefore recommend that this conference prosecute this case to a successful determination. To this end they recommend that a prosecuting committee of three be appointed to look after the case, receive all moneys raised for the purpose above expressed, pay out the same for expenses incurred in the prosecution, and turn over all surplus that may accrue to the Kansas Emigration Aid Society; that at least two of said committee shall be residents of Nashville; that steps be immediately taken to raise five hundred dollars with which to prosecute the suits as vigorously as possible; that each State and district here represented shall contribute twenty-eight dollars towards this cause, except Oregon, which State shall contribute the remaining twenty-four dollars; that the Chairman of the Conference appoint some one from each State here represented, whose duty it shall be to raise the ammount apportioned to his State, and forward the same to the chairman of the prosecuting committee; that it shall be the duty of the prosecuting committee to furnish at least four colored journals a full report of all moneys received and disbursed by them during the prosecution of said suits when the same shall have been terminated."

Just before nine o'clock, J. Henri Birch,

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